THE STORY OF OUR AMERICAN PEOPLE

VOLUME ONE — THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Story of
Our American
People
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XX

THE SHIP THAT SANK IN VICTORY

This pictured frontispiece portrays that proud baptism of our American flag, in the famous battle which Commodore John Paul Jones with his ship the Bonhomme Richard fought against the British frigate Serapis under Captain Richard Pearson (see page 394).

The Bonhomme Richard was so shattered that she sank directly after the battle. The American commander transferred his own crew along with their British prisoners to the captured British ship. In the words of Jones himself, "No one was now left aboard the Richard but our dead. To them I gave the good old ship for their coffin. . . . The very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the Bonhomme Richard was the defiant waving of her unconquered and unstricken flag as she went down. And as I had given them the good old ship for their sepulchre, I now bequeathed to my immortal dead the flag they had so desperately defended, for their winding sheet."

THE SHIP THAT SANK IN VICTORY

© J. L. G. Ferris

THE STORY OF

Our American People

By CHARLES F. HORNE

VOLUME ONE—THE DIVIDED COLONIES
VOLUME TWO—THE UNITED STATES

Prepared and issued at the suggestion of The American Legion, with its support and critical aid, and with that of The American Legion Auxiliary, American Federation of Labor, American War Mothers, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, Boy Scouts of America, Civic League for Immigrants, Colonial Sons and Daughters, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of the War of 1812, Daughters of the Confederacy, Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Knights of Pythias, League for American Citizenship, National Association for Constitutional Government, National Association of Naval Veterans, National Child Welfare Association, National Civic Federation, National Security League, Service Star Legion, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Union Society of the Civil War, United Confederate Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Women's Relief Corps of the G. A. R., Women's Home Mission Society, and other patriotic and educational societies

This Work Aims to Establish a "United" History, Which Can be Accepted and Taught in Every Portion of Our Union

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INTRODUCTION

The two volumes of this history of our country have been prepared under the supervision of the Patriotic Societies listed on the title-page, and are planned for use as a text-book in the seventh and eighth years of our Public Schools, or in Junior High Schools. The American Legion at its Annual Convention in 1922 authorized the making of this text-book, and appointed a committee to direct the work. The committee secured the co-operation of the other societies named and with their aid drew up a set of principles for the guidance of the text. The united purpose of these organizations is:

1. To secure the teaching of the same facts of history in all sections of our country, and thus prevent sectional distrusts and misconceptions.

2. To make a nationally acceptable history by gathering and stating the views of the nation as a whole, rather than those of any single historian, State, or region.

3. To express to the rising generation a faith in our Country and a BELIEF in it that shall tend to create a broad patriotism and love of America; and to give an understanding of our institutions that shall inspire confidence in our laws and loyalty to our Government.

4. To tell the truth bravely but not boastfully, preserving old tales of devotion and heroism, but not ignoring national errors, "With malice toward none, with charity for all."

Upon these principles the following text was prepared, not as a perfect example of their high ideal, but as the nearest practical approach attainable. A trial text was prepared, set up in printed form, and submitted section by section to official representatives appointed by each of the co-operating societies. Most of these representatives were historians or schoolmen of wide repute. Many other scholars and statesmen of the highest national standing were also invited to aid with this trial text. It was thus read, either wholly or in part, by over three hundred experts. The criticisms of all these were carefully weighed, and a revised text was prepared, embodying their suggestions. The actual writing of both the first and the second text was entrusted to the well-known historical scholar and popular author Charles F. Horne, Professor of English in the College of the City of New York, who lectured on history to our soldiers as a member of the Army Educational Corps with the A.E.F. in France.

Among the statesmen to whom acknowledgment is due for generous and wholly voluntary service in revising this text, special mention should be made of U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was unfortunately prevented by his last illness from giving to the closing chapters the scrutiny he gave the first; also of U. S. Senators Arthur Capper, Royal S. Copeland, Albert B. Cummins, C. C. Dill, Oscar W. Underwood and James W. Wadsworth. Among nationally known statesmen and leaders outside the Senate support and critical aid have been received from hundreds, especially from Admiral William S. Benson; General William Weigel; General Frederick Sladen, Superintendent of West Point; the then Chairmen of the National Committees of both the Republican and the Democratic Party, Hon. John T. Adams and Hon. Cordell Hull; Hon. Bernard M.

Baruch; Hon. Raymond F. Crist, U. S. Commissioner of Naturalization, and Commander J. H. Sypher of the U. S. Naval Intelligence Office.*

Among historians and schoolmen the foremost acknowledgment is due to Dr. Frederick O. Norton, former Dean of Drake University, Iowa, and Professor of Sacred History at Crozier Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. Dr. Norton, a member of The Legion, acted as chairman of the Text Committee until his sudden death in 1924. To his scholarly and enthusiastic devotion this work owes much. Also a debt for guidance, criticism, encouragement, and final approval is due to the following particularly helpful specialists: the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Hon. John J. Tigert; Dr. George H. Alden, Dean and Professor of History, Willamette University, Oregon; Dr. Matthew Page Andrews, historian, of Baltimore; Mr. Edwin Bach, Director of Americanization Bureau, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Henry Campbell Black, Editor of the Constitutional Review, Washington, D. C.; U. S. Judge Benjamin F. Bledsoe of Los Angeles, Cal.; Mrs. Virginia Frazier Boyle, poetess and historian, of Memphis, Tenn.; Mr. D. Chauncey Brewer of Boston, Mass., historian and President of the Civic League for Immigrants; Mr. Howard Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Judge W. H. Crum of Springfield, Ill.; Mrs. George DeBolt, Historian-General of the Daughters of the Revolution; Mr. Harold Fields, Executive Director of the League for American Citizenship; General W. B. Freeman, Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans; Dr. Alonzo Grace, Professor of History, Northern Normal School, Aberdeen, S. D.; Miss Grace King, historian, of New Orleans, La.; Mr. Carl M. Kneass of Philadelphia,

* A valued supporter and adviser was General William B. Haldeman, Commander-in-Chief of the U. C. V., who died recently.

President of the Decendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; Miss Etta V. Leighton, of New York, Civic Secretary National Security League; Mr. E. H. Martin, editor, representative of the Boy Scouts; Prof. Warren K. Moorehead, U. S. Indian Commissioner; Mr. John Clyde Oswald, editor and historian, of New York; Mr. Frederick Palmer, historian and war correspondent; Prof. Richard J. Purcell, historian, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, poetess and historian of Jackson, Miss.; Dr. Archibald E. Stevenson, historian, of the National Civic Federation, N. Y.; Dr. Charles F. Thwing, historian, President of Western Reserve University, Ohio; Mr. R. M. Whitney of N. Y., Director of the American Defense Society; Professor J. J. Zmrhal, historian and school superintendent, of Chicago.

In matters of art the work has had the advantage of the general supervision of Mr. Charles Dana Gibson. Artists such as Edwin Blashfield, J. L. G. Ferris, Gari Melchers, Frank Schoonover, and a dozen others have generously permitted the use of their works. Among picture owners and publishers particularly warm co-operation has been received from Mr. Elroy M. Avery, historian; from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; the Youth's Companion of Boston; the Continental, Glens Falls, and Mutual Life Insurance Companies of New York; and many others. State Librarians and State Historians have also given valuable aid in forwarding pictures and information.

To all of these, and to a thousand others, the character of this book is due, as well as to the long and earnest services of The American Legion committee.

TO THE TEACHER

In 1922 a carefully selected body of teachers of history in the Public Schools of New York prepared, after two years of study, a report as to the character and style of United States History text which they believed would be most valuable in the schools. The present volumes follow that report with scrupulous care, thus endeavoring to make this a teachers' history, *giving the workmen the tool they have themselves devised.*

By the advice of school experts we have also kept the narrative free from all interruptions. An effort has thus been made to make our Nation's story as attractive to the reader in appearance, as its spirit is attractive in reality. Each chapter is a completed tale which may be read as a unit, and the chapter subhead points out its theme. The headlines of each numbered section within the chapter form complete sentences and so become part of the story. *These headlines serve at the same time as a carefully prepared summary of the chapter. The pupil may be directed to them as forming an outline and review.*

Even the pictures have been kept as far as possible from interrupting the text. Where they do interrupt, they are of sufficient size to extend completely across the page, so that the text does not ramble around them in a confused river of words. Effort has been made to keep these pictures really historical, instead of giving mere details of colonial life, which are being opened to the present generation by so many other pictorial sources.

Footnotes, documents, biographies, chronologies, are all reserved for the appendix. *There the index is at the same time a series of biographies.* Pupils should be referred to this index in connection with each important name. It

contains birth and death dates and a brief outline of the biographic facts which would have clogged the main narrative, but which help to vivify the leaders of our story.

As to the use of questions, synopses, references for additional reading, composition subjects, etc., teaching methods throughout the country vary too widely to be harmonized. Most teachers prefer their own questions, etc., but those desiring material of this character may have a pamphlet of it by applying to the publishers.

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THE STORY OF

OUR AMERICAN PEOPLE

VOLUME ONE

THE DIVIDED COLONIES

CHAPTER ONE

THE MEANING OF AMERICA

1. THIS IS THE LAND OF HOPE

AMERICA! A thrill of love leaps in our hearts at the mention of the name. Even strangers love America.

The poor folk and the oppressed of other lands look to this fortunate country as a kind of paradise, the land of hope. They know it as the land where work brings its best reward, the one region wherein Peace seems assured, the land of Opportunity.

The leaders of other countries also turn to the United States. They know it as a land of Power, able to help them in their political troubles, yet not grasping at their rights. They seek our young strength and energy to aid in solving the world-wide problems of government at home and of trade abroad.

2. OUR MISSION IS TO TEACH UNION AND FAIR PLAY

Those of us who were born in America and have grown old upon her soil, do more than love her. We BELIEVE in her. We believe in her earnestness, her high purpose, her tremendous opportunity. We believe that, though she has made some sad mistakes in government and sentiment, yet she will at last win full success in her great mission.

That mission is to teach to all the world the worth of human brotherhood. We have shown, and we must continue to show, the progress that a nation can make when

its people aim to live in harmony as equals, to join in united effort, and to give fair play even to the weakest.

3. THE UNITED STATES IS A REAL UNION OF NATIONS

If the name America thrills us, the name United States must do so even more. America is the name for our entire continent; the United States means our own government.

Our States were once separate and independent little governments, quick to quarrel with one another. They united, and made a pledge to settle all their differences not by War but by a common Law. They thus led all other nations in a great onward step toward that world union of which men and women have always dreamed.

Our Union was set up hesitatingly, as an experiment. It was founded as a Democracy. That is, it was based not only on a mutual agreement as to laws but also on a mutual concession of equal rights and privileges. It thus linked strength with freedom, UNION with DEMOCRACY.

These two mighty ideas, of Agreement in establishing laws, and of Equality under their shelter, are now widely accepted principles of human society; but when our nation began, they were usually regarded as impractical ideals. Folk doubted if our widespread plains and mountains could really be held together under one law. They also doubted if the masses of any people were able to govern for themselves. Would they not prove too foolish and too reckless, easily blinded and easily maddened into a mob?

4. OUR UNION WON HARMONY OUT OF MANY DIFFICULTIES

The United States has far outgrown these early doubts. It has expanded beyond the boldest dreams of its first champions. Despite one tragic internal war, it has passed successfully through all the upheavals which have since shaken the entire world. It has outlasted every government that

watched its beginnings, except one. Next to Britain, with her slowly changing Parliamentary system, the United States has stood, unchanged by revolution, longer than any other government in the world today.

We have thus accomplished the nearest approach yet made to that noble spiritual ideal, "On earth peace, goodwill toward men."

Yet all ideals of harmony and of liberty become impractical under the strain of war. In warfare every one must obey a single leader. Hence our whole system of democratic equality is dependent on the peace brought to us by the wise UNION of our States.

5. OUR PEOPLE PROVED ABLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES

The "people's government" problem of our early days has also found its answer. Our country has developed into a true Representative Democracy. That is, our people select their own officials, and have all an equal vote in changing them when necessary.

These representatives are pledged to direct our government for the equal benefit of us all. There is the same law for all, the same permissions and the same restraints. That is the nearest approach to the ideal of EQUALITY that man has yet been able to attain.

Our government is the largest and most promising of mankind's experiments in this difficult field of self-government by an entire people. If we should fail, the future of the whole world would be darkened by our fall.

6. OUR YOUNG FOLK MUST DIRECT OUR FUTURE SO THEY MUST KNOW OUR PAST

In the high hope that our national progress of the Past may be made to lead on to yet broader efforts, we turn to the young folk of our land. From among you, the

students in our schools who read these words, must come the leaders of our Future.

We tell you here the story of our country, that you may gather from the tale a just pride of race and an earnest sense of your responsibility. You must learn of earlier blunders, so as to watch that the nation is guarded against them hereafter. You must see by what firm qualities old

A Remnant of the Aztec Civilization in Mexico

victories were won, so that you may strengthen these high qualities among yourselves.

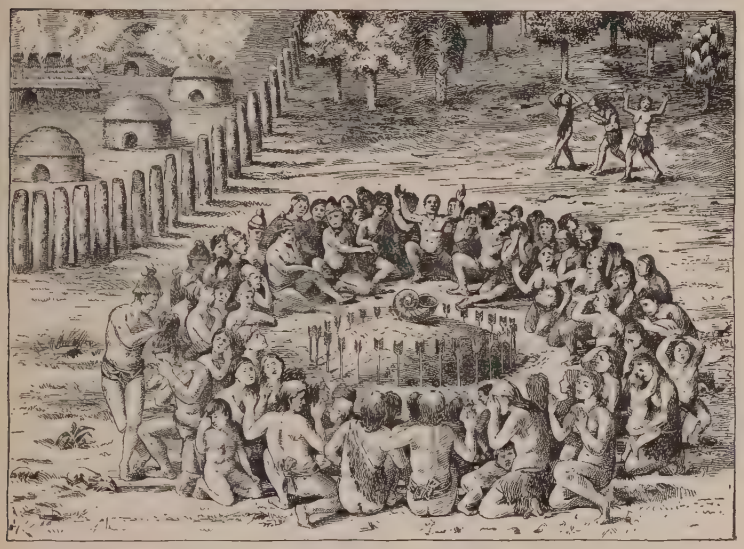
7. IS AMERICA THE OLDEST CONTINENT?

America has existed for uncountable centuries. It is perhaps the oldest continent in the world. In that ancient era when the continents of today were raised above the waters, our Allegheny mountains were upheaved before most of the other lands that now exist.

Peoples partly civilized lived here in distant, long-forgotten ages. We still find vague traces of them. We

uncover obscure ruins so old they seem mere mounds of earth. We come upon quaintly shaped and carven stones buried beneath the flow of lava from some extinct volcano. Deep underground we find human bones that seem ages old. Nevada has recently unearthed the remnants of a "lost city" wherein perhaps twenty thousand semi-civilized folk dwelt more than two thousand years ago.

These shadowy early peoples may or may not have been the ancestors of our Indians. We know too little of them



An Indian Burial Ceremony (*Sketch by an early explorer*)

to be sure. When Columbus came, the Indians had erected strange, semi-civilized empires in Mexico and farther south; but the lands which now form the United States were inhabited only by scattered and partly barbaric redmen, less than a million of them altogether. Vast portions of our territory must have lain empty of mankind during many centuries.

8. THIS LAND LAY LONG HIDDEN LIKE A SECRET TREASURE

The fact that our continent lay so long unused has seemed to many earnest thinkers one of the world's most striking manifestations of the Divine Purpose of God. They have believed that all this wealth of field and forest and mines was held untouched until civilization should grow worthy of it. America was to be a new rich heritage for man, not to be revealed to him until he had learned how to conserve it, how to govern both it and himself.

For fifty centuries or more Europe and Asia had been torn with the struggles of a slowly progressing civilization. Man, in his early tribal days, needed broad plains for pastures and wildernesses for hunting. He had not yet learned to use land to its fullest, and so to dwell, as we can today, in comfort among crowds.

Instead he learned to live by war. When the warriors had ruined one land, they seized another. Thus man laid waste his own inheritance recklessly, madly, with murder, fire, and every form of ravage. He harried his neighbor's fields, destroyed his forests, trampled down his cities, squandered the product of his mines. The world became so wearied, so weighed down with hungry people, that it grew bitter, often selfish. High thoughts were too often lost in despair.

Gradually, man has toiled upward out of tragic deeps. And, fortunately indeed for the fate of the human race, when the darkest of those early days had been overcome, America still lay ready at man's hand—untouched. If we, in our land, have been able to build up ideals, it has been partly at least because we have had bodily food in plenty.

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AGES BEFORE COLUMBUS THERE EXISTED IN THE GREAT SOUTHWEST A RACE WHOSE NAME AND PERIOD MUST REMAIN FOREVER UNKNOWN. SOMETHING OF ITS ART PASSED DOWN TO ITS DESCENDANTS THE ZUNI AND THE NAVAHO; BUT THE MANY-STORIED BUILDINGS OF ITS COMMUNAL LIFE HAVE FOUND NO HEIRS BUT THE MOUNTAIN LION, THE FOX AND THE WOLF

From the Youth's Companion "Historic Milestones" Series

9. A SHELTERED POSITION FITTED OUR LAND FOR PEACE

The nations of the old world had been compelled to arm, lest they be plundered and enslaved by some more warlike neighbor. The America of our ancestors was protected from this danger by the thousands of miles of ocean on either side. Against the Indians, white settlers protected themselves at first by their vastly superior weapons and later by weight of numbers.

Moreover, the richest part of North America, the part now occupied by our States, was defended on the north by cold and on the south by heat. Our Mexican borderlands were too hot and barren to become the home of a great rival nation; and beyond Canada there lay a bleak and frozen wilderness.

Thus sheltered upon every side, this middle region was an ideal spot for men to enjoy in peace. Here a people seemed sure to prosper; and here a new nation was begun, our nation. It has made the most nearly successful of modern efforts to set aside the old law of strife and robbery. Some day we may even learn to live wholly by the higher law of justice and brotherhood.

10. OUR PEOPLE CAME FROM EUROPE'S BEST

Who were the people who came to occupy this rich and sheltered and long hidden land?

Again we may well pause in awe to contemplate the idea of a Divine Purpose working out some mighty aim for America. By natural processes, the world of Europe was sifted and sorted that there might be planted here some of its richest seed.

Almost all the first successful settlers were of the stalwart old English stock, part Teuton and part Celt; but by degrees each other race was drawn here also. The colonists

were not of Europe's foremost people in wealth or inherited rank; but they were among its foremost in initiative and earnest purpose and sturdy endurance. They had to be.

11. THE OCEAN TESTED THEIR STRENGTH OF SPIRIT

The ocean was the first stern barrier to shut out the weaker folk. Even today the long and costly voyage across the ocean helps to keep from our shores the more timid and irresolute of Europeans. In those first days the voyage was terrible indeed. Columbus' crew were not the only sailors who threatened mutiny or who broke down from terror of the Atlantic storms; and when even the hardened seamen scarce dared face the ocean in their tiny ships, what must its tempests have meant to landsmen!

The voyage lasted anywhere from six weeks to six months, which had to be endured on the tossing, only half-sheltering ships amid cold and storm. The drinking water was scant and bad; the food was worse. Disease and wreck and pirates were ever threatening, and often caused disaster. Only the bold of soul dared venture that dark voyage; and only the strong of soul and body might survive.

12. THEY DARED ALL FOR FREEDOM OR FOR OPPORTUNITY

To venture thus, the early settlers must have been urged by some firm purpose or driven by some stern force.

Sometimes they were persons of high earnestness seeking escape from the religious persecution which in those days was cruelly severe throughout Europe. Sometimes they were bold youths, fortune-seekers made desperate by Europe's dreary lack of opportunity, resolute to prove their own power to stand alone.

Liberty

This statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" by the French sculptor Bartholdi was presented to our country by the French government as a token of sympathy and friendship. It was erected in New York harbor where it now stands welcoming all newcomers with its light. It is of colossal size, the rim around its torch being a gallery for people

Sometimes they were folk convicted as criminals; but laws have not always judged men as God judges them, and the governments of those days were apt to be harsh and narrow. They executed their subjects not only for murder, as we still do, but on nearly two hundred lesser charges. Men dwelt in ignorant terror of the law. Even debt was punished as a heavy crime. Some of the convicts sent here were indeed evil-minded rascals; but many were men we should have applauded for their so-called crimes.

Moreover, even the real criminal, on being exiled here, had to develop a large strength of manhood—or he perished.

13. THE WEAK PERISHED FROM HARDSHIPS

This voyage was not the only sifting process for America, though the fear of it shut off the timid, and the deaths during it cut off the weak. More than half the settlers who in the first hard days reached this new world, died here within a few months of landing. They perished before they learned to protect themselves against all this strangeness, new climate, new diseases, new enemies, new modes of living.

Mere bodily strength was no guarantee of survival. There had to be wit as well, and endurance, alertness, adaptability to the new environment, solid grit.

Few women came until men had somewhat smoothed the way. Yet some of our earliest successful settlers were women. Their more tender bodies made the trial for them even heavier than for the men. So their spirits had to be even stronger, to endure the life.

14. THE SURVIVORS WERE THUS A SELECTED STOCK

The survivors of these grim tests were therefore what might well be called a "chosen race" of Europeans. The

great leaders of Europe, her chief scholars, artists, scientists, remained of course at home. Yet strong and clever folk, resolute and earnest ones, were thus established in America, and received stern training in its wilderness. They were built up into a sturdy company indeed, well fit to be the ancestors of a new race, the "Americans."

Our later generations have faced new conditions. The great modern improvements in shipbuilding have brought us into far readier touch not only with Europe but with Asia. The ocean, which had been a barrier, has become a bridge. Life and labor here have become easier, more comfortable, than elsewhere.

Yet in lesser degree the old causes continued to bring to us, almost to the close of the nineteenth century, a high grade of immigrants. They were the bravest and most resolute of those who dared revolt against European miseries.

15. ARE WE WORTHY OF OUR ANCESTORS?

It may be that we have all lost something of our ancestors' hardy strength. Ease too often produces laziness and an idle sense of irresponsibility. Has the secure and pleasant life of later generations in this land produced a feebler spirit in our children? The answer lies with you.

If, however, we find any degeneration among ourselves today, we can in no way shift the blame to that original stock wherewith Europe peopled America. Our experiment at improving upon European systems has at least been undertaken with excellent material.

Our ancestors prayed anxiously for military strength to resist enemies far more numerous than they. The wondrous growth of our land since then has brought to us the physical power that they lacked. Our prayer must there-

fore be for wisdom to use power nobly. New conditions constantly rise around us; and lack of understanding may prove more destructive to us, than lack of power proved in earlier days.

Let us study therefore how the American people have thus far made use of their great opportunity. Let us follow their story together. Let us examine those efforts wherein they have sometimes failed; and let us rejoice over those wherein they have proven worthy. Let us learn from our Past how to guard and guide our Future.

The Ships of the Discoverers ©J. L. G. Ferris

CHAPTER TWO

THE DISCOVERY

The Story of a Victory Won by Strong Heart and Open Mind (1492–1500)

I. THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA CHANGED MAN'S OUTLOOK ON THE UNIVERSE

The discovery of America in 1492 meant a far larger thing than merely a daring voyage by the resolute Columbus with his three tiny ships. It meant a revolution in the thought of mankind. It not only doubled the size of the known world, but also brought to men the first dawning knowledge of Earth's tiny place among the stars. The Earth had once been thought of as a great flat plain, the center of the universe. Slowly men began to realize its littleness amid the vast space that spreads around us.

From the deed of Columbus, men learned a bolder confidence in searching the unknown. From the increase of knowledge through that deed, they learned awe and humility. Thus mankind was prepared for a broader future.

The Europe of Columbus' days, four and a half centuries ago, was different indeed from the world of today. We do not live as folk did then, nor think of life as they did. Our attitude of mind has widened, even more than our physical comforts have increased. Until you realize this, you can not understand the greatness of America's story.

2. IN 1492 KINGS AND THEIR NOBLES RULED THE WORLD

In the first place, the people of 1492 knew nothing of democracy. Nowhere in Europe was there a land in which men lived on terms of equality, governing themselves. Kings and nobles ruled by armed force. Kings even began to claim that they ruled by "divine right."

By this claim they mastered Europe. Their doctrine was that God, who controls everything, had put kings in power, therefore to question their authority was to doubt His wisdom. When, just before the World War, William II of Germany announced that God was guiding him and that he would heed no lesser law, he was merely repeating this ancient doctrine.

Fortunately democracy has long outgrown this destructive theory. Carried one step further, it taught that all things must be kept as they are, because God set them so. If accepted exactly, it would prevent any changes in anything, even in clothes or machinery. We have grown to believe, instead, that Almighty Wisdom has set us here to learn all we can, to develop all things, to improve ourselves, and to improve our surroundings. This is the "divine right" of each individual. Our insistence on it has utterly destroyed the old "divine right" of kings.

3. CUSTOM DENIED TO MOST MEN ALL CHANCE TO RISE

Under our laws all men are regarded as of equal rank. In the days of Columbus, law carefully divided men into classes, and guarded the privileges of the upper ranks.

Next below the king stood his great lords with almost as much authority as he. In some lands they had all the powers which we now divide among law-courts, police, legislatures, governors and commissions. They could im-

prison or slay at will any ordinary person under their rule. This organization of society was called the "feudal system" because each man held his "feud" or estate in return for his service and obedience to some one who ranked above him.

Society was built up like a pyramid, each rank upheld on the shoulders of the rank beneath. Below the great lords came the lesser gentry, the professional classes, the farm owners, each rank inferior to some rank above, but each with some special rights or privileges setting them all above the masses. Into one of these classes each person was born; and in that same class, except in very rare cases, he must live and die.

That is why neither Columbus nor any other man went exploring, as one of us might go today, on his own account. Ship-masters had to have the support, and sail by will of some king or great lord. There was no such thing as a band of equal, trusting comrades, working together for the common good of all.

4. TOLERANCE IN RELIGION WAS LITTLE UNDERSTOOD

In the next place, the established Church in 1492 was quite as powerful, and quite as dominant over the affairs of men, as was the kingly power. There was only one Church then. All Christians, except in the little-known churches of the East, looked to the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, as the head of Christianity.

As to other religious faiths, such as Judaism and Mohammedanism, people who believed in them were looked upon with suspicion and intolerance as being wholly outside of Christendom. They were hardly permitted to dwell in Christian lands at all. The world had not yet fully realized that since the Universal God is universal, all peoples are His people!

In the century following Columbus, the monk Martin Luther was to hurl his defiance at the Pope, and Europe was to split in twain between Protestants and Catholics slaying one another in savage "religious wars." Civilization, especially in Germany, was driven almost back to barbarism. That, however, was still undreamed of in 1492. Even kings were obedient to the Pope.

5. THE POPE DIVIDED THE NEWLY DISCOVERED LANDS

When the period of new land discoveries began, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 issued a "Papal Bull," or church command, saying that all new lands west of a certain meridian in the mid Atlantic should belong to Spain and all lands east of it to Portugal.

No one questioned the authority of the Pope thus to give away all the unknown universe. The kings of Spain and Portugal each pleaded for a larger share; but failing to obtain this, they confirmed the Bull by a treaty between their kingdoms. Other kings sought to evade the Bull or to interpret it so as to allow explorations of their own; but no one openly defied it, not until the religious wars began.

That is why Spain had at first a free hand in reaching out for America.

6. EUROPE HAD SMALL USE FOR EMPTY FAR-OFF LANDS

Another important difference between then and now was that Europe then had little need of America. Her total population was only about one-fourth what it is today, and the mass of people lived much duller, harder lives. They owned but little property and had few conveniences. Constant war prevented most folk from gathering any store of the possessions which make life comfortable.

Europe supported herself. Her manufactures were few;

but her wants were simple. The majority of her people were country folk, farm laborers. She still had vast forests and farm lands, sufficient to give work to every man who would endure the misery of being a "peasant," a serf working under his feudal superior.

A Caravan Crossing the Deserts of the East

All that Europe desired of other lands was their wealth, their gold and precious stones, or the drugs and spices which her upper classes valued highly.

7. MEN SOUGHT ONLY A ROAD TO REACH INDIA'S WEALTH

The strongest impulse toward new explorations was, in fact, this trade in jewels and drugs and spices. The chief source of these had long been southern Asia, the "Orient." The old way of reaching India and the rich regions beyond had been partly by land. From the eastern end of the Mediterranean men travelled with horses or camels over deserts and mountains to India's border.

The journey meant many months of misery and danger. Men died of heat and thirst upon the glaring deserts, or of cold and hunger amid the snow-capped mountains. They marched in groups or "caravans" to protect themselves against the wild tribes along the way. The Arabs of the desert gained their main wealth from slain and plundered caravans, or from forced tribute. Hence the cost of goods when carried by this hard route was enormous.

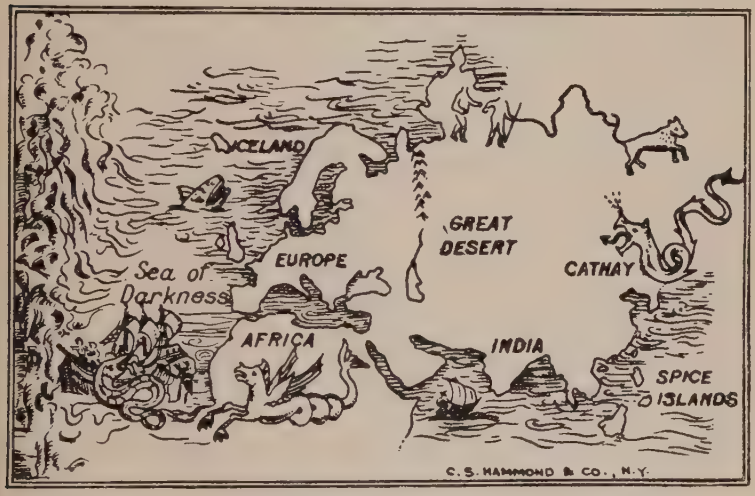
In Columbus' time the route became even more difficult because of the advancing conquests of the Turks. They were a warlike race from central Asia who captured Palestine and the neighboring Asiatic lands and would scarce permit traders to pass at all. In 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople, the last Christian metropolis in the East. The Turks were fanatic Mohammedans, and their religious intolerance helped to destroy the Asiatic trade. With the Mediterranean routes thus blocked, men began to figure on the possibility of reaching the Orient by sailing around Africa.

Spain and Portugal, the lands lying nearest to Africa's coast along the Atlantic, were foremost in this new venture. Thus began the modern period of world exploration. It was to bring with it a much clearer understanding of all life.

8. SAILORS FEARED THE STORMS AND TERRORS OF OCEAN

Up to this time men had never sailed far out upon the ocean. Their ships were too small and weak. Their dread of the blank empty waters was too great. Ancient legend had filled all unknown regions with imaginary monsters, strange beasts, headless giants, demons, dragons, and the huge and terrible "sea serpent" who swallowed whole shiploads at a gulp.

There were two other fears, two mistaken ideas about the form of the earth, which had specially held men back from exploring the rough and stormy Atlantic. One idea was that the world was generally thought of as being flat, perhaps a flat circular disc like the face of a watch. This disc was supposed to be mainly land, with Jerusalem, the "Holy City," or perhaps Babylon, the "Ancient City," at its center.



The World of Ancient Days
(*As pictured in the maps before Columbus*)

Asia filled the eastern half of the disc, and Europe and Africa the western half, with the Mediterranean dividing them. A narrow ocean was supposed to encircle this land mass like a river. The only known part of this ocean was along the Atlantic coast of Europe.

This Atlantic water was called the "Sea of Storms" or "Sea of Darkness." Men feared that if they ventured far out on it they would slip over the edge of the earth's disc, and be lost forever in the darkness below.

9. PORTUGAL OPENED A NEW AGE OF EXPLORATION

The other mistaken fear was of heat. Men knew nothing of the equator, or of the tropics as a warm zone between two zones of cold. They only knew that the farther south they travelled in Africa or Asia the hotter the world became. So they feared that if they sailed too far along the African coast, they would be burned to ashes in its ever increasing tropic heat.

These fears might long have held men back from further knowledge, had it not been for one marked value of the old style monarchy. This was that when a ruler happened to be a really able man, he could bring vast forces to accomplish whatever aim he set his heart upon. Such a ruler appeared now in a province of Portugal, Prince Henry the Navigator.

Henry, seeking a road to India, set his sailors to exploring the African coast of the Atlantic. Despite their fear of the heat, he urged them on, sending out ship after ship, each adventuring a little farther than the last. So by degrees they crept down the African coast, discovering the nearby islands one by one. They passed the equator; and the myth of the fiery heat was disproved. A wider world was opened.

10. PORTUGAL STARTED THE SLAVE TRADE AND GREW WEALTHY

Moreover, in these equatorial regions the Portuguese found wealth. They met Arab traders who sold negro slaves. Europe had long known of such slaves, but only after they had been trained to civilized ways by their Arab masters. Now the Portuguese met the untaught Africans of the forests. That was Europe's first direct knowledge of the race whose slavery was to weigh so heavily upon America.

Europe did not as yet disapprove of this trade in human

beings. Her peasants were almost slaves. Captured Moors were sold as slaves in Spain. Bringing a slave to Europe was regarded as giving him a chance to become a Christian and so escape the agonies of hell-fire. Ignorance of Christianity was expected to cause future suffering, far worse than any bodily pains a slave might suffer here. Through Prince Henry's explorations, therefore, Portugal won both honor and slave-made wealth.

Africa, however, continued to extend farther and farther south beyond the map-makers' expectations. Would the land ever end? Asia seemed farther off than ever. The explorers began to realize that the earth was much larger than earlier ages had dreamed. Then, and not till then, did the bolder thinkers turn definitely to the idea of reaching Asia by some other route.

II. COLUMBUS WON A WIFE AND HOME IN PORTUGAL

Among these Portuguese navigators, a student in this first modern school of seamanship and adventure, there was a young Italian from Genoa, Christoforo Colombo, whose name we now use in an English form, Columbus. The Italians of his day were noted wanderers; and young Colombo came as a shipwrecked sailor to the Portuguese capital, Lisbon.

There he met and wooed a sailor's daughter, Felipa Moñez (fā lē′pă mōn′yāth). The couple were wedded about the year 1479, when the young adventurer was perhaps thirty years old, though we do not know just when he was born.

Felipa had a large influence on the fortunes of her husband. She was of the family of one of Prince Henry's noted ship captains. Her father gave the bridal pair a home at Porto Santo, on one of Henry's new-found islands;

and Columbus became an active helper in the voyages down the African coast. He was also the most eager of the navigators in taking up the new and startling idea that there was another route to Asia, a route never before considered.

12. HE HOPED TO REACH INDIA BY SAILING ROUND THE EARTH

Columbus and his friends argued that if the earth were shaped like a ball instead of being flat, then the East could be reached by sailing west. Even in the ancient Greek days there had always been a few scientific thinkers who maintained that the earth was a sphere, was rounded like a ball; so that there really was no "edge of the world" out there in the ocean for people to fall over. But to suggest such an idea as a theory was much easier than to maintain it so resolutely as to stake your life upon it, by sailing out over that unknown edge.

Columbus was the only man who possessed both the courage and the intense belief to carry this faith on to such daring action. He repeatedly urged the idea upon King John, a new ruler over Portugal.

13. PORTUGAL TRIED HIS PLAN WITHOUT HIM—AND FAILED

King John was unwilling to entrust so important an issue to a foreigner. So he hesitated, delayed Columbus, and finally sent one of his own captains to the Azores Islands, the most western known lands. The captain carried secret orders to search the unknown seas beyond.

This man proved to be of too small energy for such a venture. He soon turned back from the vast and empty ocean beyond the Azores. He and all his sailors reported as in a single voice that men might "as well expect to find land in the sky as in that waste of waters."

There are vague traces of perhaps two other such timorous expeditions venturing feebly into the West. They tried and failed, and so intensified men's fear of the great "Sea of Darkness."

14. COLUMBUS WOVE RELIGION INTO HIS HIGH DREAM

Meanwhile, disgusted by King John's treatment, Columbus left Portugal to lay his plans before some more reliable monarch. He took with him his oldest son, Diego (dē ā′gō), a tiny lad who became the companion of many of his wanderings. His wife Felipa he left behind with their younger children, to await a happier turn of the family fortunes. He never saw her again; she died while he was still wandering from king to king.

The lonely life of Columbus became centered on his great project. At first he had studied it scientifically; now in his solitude he approached it spiritually. He studied the Bible and imagined that he found there many texts intimating that the westward voyage was commanded by Heaven, and that Christianity was thus to be spread to every land.

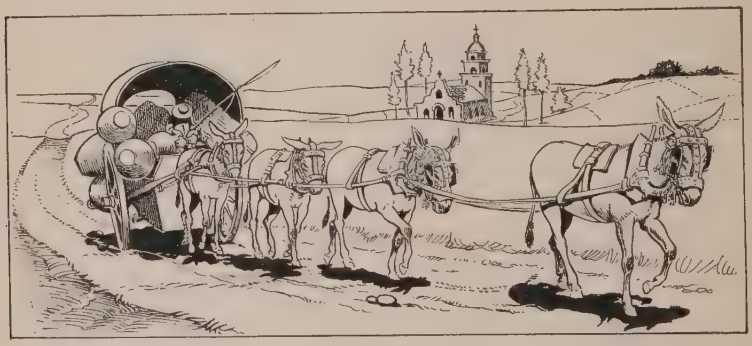
He dreamt of the vast wealth of Asia and hoped to gather and use it for a great "Crusade," a war to recover Constantinople and the Holy Land from the Turks. The exploration which may have seemed to him at first a personal adventure, now became in his eyes a mission, a world-movement which should bring the knowledge of God to all the universe. His own name Christopher, which means "Carrier of Christ", must have encouraged him in his high hope.

15. KNOWLEDGE WAS OFTEN SMOTHERED IN THOSE DAYS

Perhaps in the research which he now undertook, Columbus may have heard tales of earlier voyages to lands in the

West. America had been visited by Europeans before, more than once, and had then been forgotten again.

One main point in which the Europe of 1492 differed from our modern world rose from its poor means of communication. Europe had no railways, nor even stage coaches. People still travelled about on foot or with nothing more rapid than horses. Men for the most part lived and died in the village where they were born, unless some king led them off to fight in wars of which they understood nothing.



Land Travel in the Land and Time of Columbus

Neither did news travel, except from man to man by letter or courier. Printing had only just been invented, and books were few and still written mainly by hand. There were no newspapers, no alert reporters watching every event and telegraphing its results to be read at every breakfast table. Many great ideas must have been born only to die unrecorded, with the brain that dreamed them.

Even the Portuguese discoveries were scarce known outside of Portugal; for her rulers kept their new knowledge and new maps to themselves as private property. Its main value lay in its secrecy.

16. THE NORSEMEN DISCOVERED AMERICA—AND FORGOT IT

Of one earlier landing on America's shore, we now know positively. It had been made in the year 1000 by Lief (lēf) the Lucky, a Norse "viking" or sea-wanderer. The Norsemen, however, had small use for their discovery, and no realization of the size of America or of its future importance, so they soon abandoned it. Their story was re-

The Norsemen Landing on the Coast of America

corded in old Norse sagas and then in books; but it lay idle there, known only to a few readers, valued merely as a strange adventure tale.

That tale of America's earlier discovery you should know briefly, if only to realize how useless any discovery must be until the world is ready for it. A vast future unfolds before mankind; but our race must rise to understand the value of each new knowledge before we can employ it. Otherwise a new possession becomes a worthless playtoy. It has no real use nor inspiration.

17. LIEF ERICSSON EXPLORED "VINLAND"

So with the first finding of America! The northern part of the Atlantic ocean is shallow, and from the north coast of Europe to the coast of Canada there extends a series of island lands. From Norway to the Scottish isles, to Iceland, to Greenland, to Labrador, the sea-passage is nowhere over six hundred miles, and usually much less. The Norse sea-rovers kept advancing from one of these lands to another, until the last gap was crossed by Lief the Lucky, so called because he had once the luck to save a whole shipload of his countrymen from a sinking ship at sea.

Lief and his men sailed some hundred miles along the American coast and came at length so far south that the snow faded and the land grew warm. They found wild grapes growing in profusion, and from these grapevines they called the region Vinland. It was either Nova Scotia or some part of our present New England coast.

18. THORFINN AND GUDRID THE SEERESS SETTLED VINLAND

When Lief reported his discovery, a settlement was begun in Vinland, its chief leader being Lief's kinsman Thorfinn. Thorfinn hoped to build a lasting home, and so his brave wife Gudrid came with him. She was a woman of note among her people, a seeress who had visions of the dead and was supposed to read the future.

In Vinland there was born to her a son whom the parents named Snorri. He was the first known white child born in America, the first American of European race. Snorri afterward became a noted figure among the Norsemen, many of whom today trace their family back to him and may thus claim kinship with America.

The main trouble of the little Vinland colony was the ever increasing warfare with the Indians. The Norsemen

had no firearms, such as later enabled the followers of Columbus to gain such easy mastery over the savages. Thorfinn and his men had to meet the Indians hand to hand. The Norsemen were heroic fighters and had iron armor, but the Indians outnumbered them heavily. Settlers were slain one after another. Other colonists came; but they fought among themselves, and at last the survivors, including little Snorri and his parents, went back to Greenland. They preferred its chilly peace to the constant danger of sunny Vinland.

Lief the Lucky in Vinland

The First White Boy in America

19. COLUMBUS WAS NOT HELPED BY THE OLDER DISCOVERY: HE FAILED TILL HIS IDEALS WON QUEEN ISABELLA

Of this wild Norse story, Columbus had probably never heard; or hearing it he would scarce have connected it with the rich and tropic isles of the Indies which he was seeking.

After leaving Portugal, he struggled for years trying to

interest some mighty person in his project, to make others see as he saw it the vision of a Christianized Asia and a conquered Holy Land. Again and again he was disappointed. Finally he found in Queen Isabella of Castile a spirit which in its fervor, its devotion to a high ideal, was akin to his own.

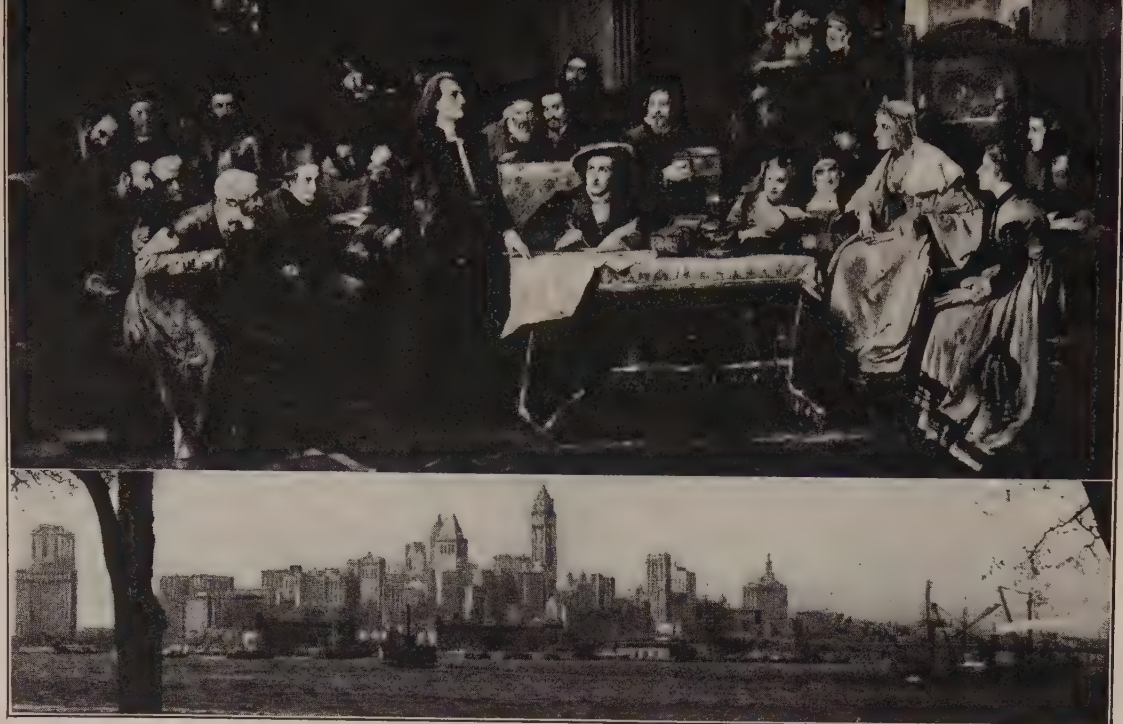
Castile was the largest of the little Christian kingdoms into which Spain had formerly been divided. All of these had now been brought under one rule by Isabella's marriage with King Ferdinand of Aragon. The pair had then turned their united strength against the last of the Moorish or Mohammedan kingdoms of Spain. This was Granada, the sole remaining kingdom from a former age in which the Moors had almost conquered Christian Europe.

Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 captured the beautiful capital of Granada. All Spain was thus united under their control; and in that proud hour Isabella turned eagerly to the new and even grander enterprise that Columbus offered her.

20. THE WORLDLY WISE KING REJECTED COLUMBUS' DREAMS

King Ferdinand had previously summoned a royal council to listen to Columbus' tale; but its members had ridiculed Columbus. He had tried to convince them with Bible texts, and they had answered him with other Bible texts; so the king, a cautious, practical man, had dismissed the whole project as being a religious argument rather than a business enterprise.

Another difficulty was that Columbus, by long meditating on his plans, had come to see his mission as a vast effort deserving great rewards. He made for himself demands such as astonished and enraged the Spanish grandees. He, a mere commoner, asked that if he succeeded he be made the



The Old Days and the New

© Underwood & Underwood

Columbus picturing the unknown world to Isabella, and that world as seen in its largest city today

chief nobleman of Spain, ruler over all the new lands he might conquer, and owner of so much of their wealth as would pay for all his crusading armies.

21. ISABELLA'S FAITH STARTED THE EXPEDITION

There would have been no chance whatever of such demands being consented to by Spanish nobles, had it not been for Isabella.

"I will undertake the project," said she, "for my own crown of Castile." So King Ferdinand had no part in it, except to snatch the reward afterward—as kings usually did in those days.

Isabella raised the "commoner" Colombo to become the "gentleman" Colon. She promised him the admiralship, viceroyalty, and everything else he had asked in case of his success. She offered her own jewels to raise the money necessary for the expedition; though we are not sure that the jewels were actually pawned. In brief, it was Isabella's expedition that set out under Columbus on August 3rd, 1492, from the little port of Palos, on the Atlantic coast of Spain.

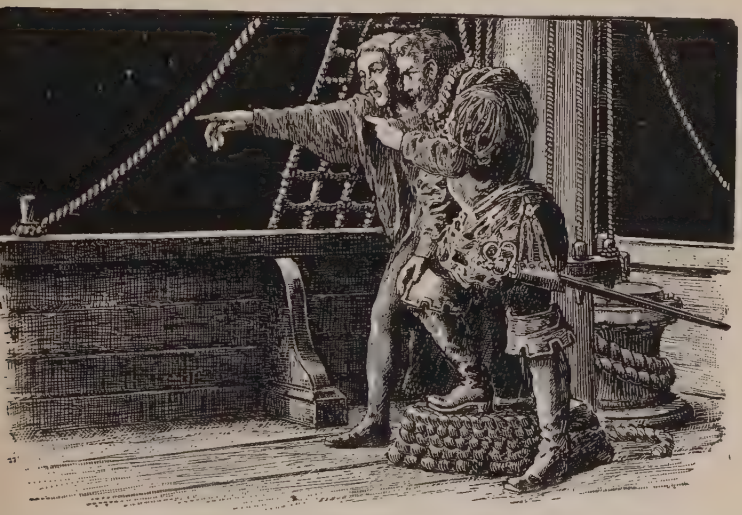
22. COLUMBUS FORCED HIS MEN ONWARD TO THE DISCOVERY

The details of that voyage are too widely known to need repeating. No one but Columbus had dared attempt it; no one but Columbus could have secured backing for it; and also perhaps no one but Columbus could have carried it through in that age of fear and ignorance.

The sailors looked up to this dignified, lonely, vision-inspired admiral of theirs as something more than human. Again and again, terrified by this bold sailing over the edge of the world, they sought to turn back, as weaker men had done before; but always, by firm command, by

persuasion, or by hiding how far they had really come, Columbus kept them sailing westward.

The "Sea of Storms" remained calm; the "Sea of Darkness" glowed daily in the sunshine. Never had old ocean been in quieter mood; and so on the morning of October 12th Columbus and his followers landed on one of the Bahama Islands. The particular spot of the landing is no



The Night Before the Discovery Columbus Saw a Light Burning on the Shore

onger surely known, but it was probably on what is now alled Watling's Island. There one half of the world earned for the first time of the existence of the other half.

23. RED MEN AND WHITE MISUNDERSTOOD THEIR MEETING

Neither red men nor white, in that first vague glimpse f one another, realized at all how much the meeting meant r how slowly the long separated hemispheres were to unite. The naked red folk were frightened but kindly and very

submissive to these new "gods" whose ships seemed to them huge birds from heaven, and whose cannon spoke with the voice of thunder. These first Indians were not such fierce fighters as were later found in our own land. They were eager to serve Columbus. From their gestures he learned of other larger lands; so, sailing on, he for two months coasted along the northern shores of the great islands of Cuba and San Domingo. The latter became the first center of Spain's power in America.

One strange custom that Columbus noted among the savages was that they would set fire to a rolled up leaf and hold it in their mouths—a cigar! That was the first Europe had ever heard of smoking. The main new products that America was to give to Europe were tobacco, Indian corn, and the potato. Among the new continent's lesser gifts were quinine, chocolate and the tomato. Think how much these have meant to civilization.

24. COLUMBUS SUPPOSED HE HAD REACHED INDIA

In this pursuit of his voyage among the savages, we find Columbus swayed by that peculiar fixedness of mind which was to prevent him from ever winning in his lifetime the full fame and reward for his great achievement. He had not set out to find a new continent, but to reach the eastern coasts of Asia by sailing west. Guided by the imaginary maps on which he and other map-makers had set down the vaguely known lands of Asia, he had expected to reach Japan and the islands of India, and beyond these, China.

Some description of these lands was known, and it emphasized their wealth and civilization. Columbus had found only naked savages. Despite this difference, he was firmly convinced that he had reached the islands of India; and he never altered that belief.

The Landing of Columbus
From a painting by Pietro Gabrini in the Field Museum, Chicago

No merely human intellect can break away completely from its early impressions. Our vision is limited by our knowledge and experience.

25. COLUMBUS CONTINUED SEEKING INDIA'S WEALTHY CITIES

Thus the great explorer died without ever knowing that America was a new continent, a second half to the world, and that another and yet greater ocean was still to be crossed before the Indies could be reached. That, to many of us, seems the real tragedy of Columbus. He had become so enwrapped in his first great vision of the Indies and the Crusade, that he never waked to the even greater vision of the true America.

Hence Columbus did not consider his voyage finished with that first discovery on October 12th. He wanted to reach some city, some wealthy port from which to carry back to Spain the gold and jewels and spices of the Indies.

He kept searching for these among the islands which even today carry in their name the record of his mistaken hope. It was by Columbus that they were first called the West "Indies"; and their people, and hence all the redmen of America, were called Indians.

26. HE ONLY TURNED HOME WHEN DIFFICULTIES COMPELLED

Columbus persisted in his search until misfortunes drove him home. Of his three ships, the middle sized one, the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Pinzon (pēn thōn′) who had been his chief helper both in Spain and on the voyage. Now, as December came and the admiral would not turn back toward Spain, Pinzon slipped away with his own ship to carry the news. He may have begun to suspect Columbus never would give up, and so might never reach Europe again.

Next, the flagship, the Santa Maria, ran aground and was wrecked, though without loss of life, off the coast of San Domingo. Being thus left with only the tiniest of his tiny fleet, the Niña (baby) as she was named, Columbus realized that he had done all he could. Another voyage must gather the gold he still expected to find beyond.

On Christmas day of 1492, he began building a fort on the San Domingo shore to hold such of his men as the Niña could not carry. This was the first Spanish settlement in America. It was named, from the day of its beginning, La Navidad, which means the Nativity or birthday of Christ.

27. GREAT STORMS ALMOST ENGULFED THE TINY SHIPS

Having thus prepared a shelter for those who must await his return, Columbus set sail for Spain in the tiny Niña. On the way he met Pinzon's ship, which had been delayed by a storm; but the two ships were soon separated by another storm. The Atlantic which had proved so peaceful in September, was now in January and February to justify its name as the Sea of Storms.

It is strange to meditate upon how nearly Columbus came to being only another of those adventurers who have sailed forth from port and never returned. The admiral himself felt that he had perhaps been too venturesome. He regretted not having sailed back earlier to let Europe know of his first success.

On February 14th it seemed impossible that the tiny Niña should survive the terrific waves. The little ship was almost engulfed by the storm. Columbus sealed up in two separate barrels the accounts of his discovery, hoping that these at least might in time be carried back to Europe by the ocean.

28. COLUMBUS REACHED HOME DESPITE EVERY OPPOSITION

But the Niña did survive, and reached the Azores. There the Portuguese governor, realizing perhaps the greatness of what Portugal had lost by rejecting Columbus, sought to arrest him and did arrest such of his crew as went ashore. Columbus sailed defiantly away, only to run into another tremendous storm, which drove him to the Portuguese coast and compelled him to seek shelter in Lisbon, the old-time home of his once happy family life.

There King John seriously considered killing Columbus, so as to snatch for Portugal the prize that she had lost; but the plan seemed too hopeless as well as too evil. Columbus was welcomed instead and helped onward to his home port of Palos. He reached it on March 15, 1493.

Martin Pinzon's ship reached Palos on the same day a few hours later. Pinzon, who supposed the Niña must surely have been destroyed by the great storms, had sent ahead of him a proclamation of his own return as the surviving discoverer. He was met with scorn and died only a few days afterward, a man broken by shame and disappointment.

29. COLUMBUS WAS HONORED AND GIVEN A SECOND FLEET

Columbus, on the contrary, stood now at the height of his success. He was splendidly received by Ferdinand and Isabella. All his high titles and rights, mere promises before, were now confirmed to him. The whole nation was in an uproar of delighted wonder.

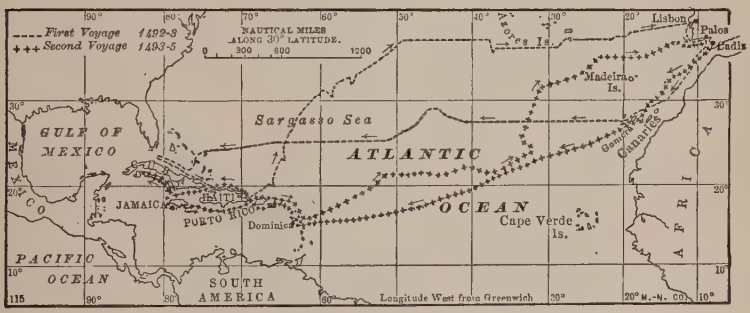
The world was indeed round! Asia had indeed been reached by sailing westward! So Columbus said, and no one now dreamed of questioning his full knowledge of what he had accomplished.

The second voyage, which was to go onward and find the rich cities of the Indies, was immediately prepared.

There was no question now about money, nor about ships and volunteers. Every young nobleman in Spain wanted to go with Columbus. Every ship-owner wanted to join the venture and sail for his own profit under the now mighty and famous admiral.

30. THIS VOYAGE BEGAN WELL BUT MET MISFORTUNES

The second expedition, ten times as big and powerful as the first, left not Palos but the great port of Cadiz, in September, 1493. In command of it, Columbus had yet one more moment of increasing success, when on November



The First and Second Voyages of Columbus

3rd land was again sighted. Once more the admiral had brought a fleet in safety to the strange land he had promised them.

From that moment, however, the star of Columbus steadily declined. How could it be otherwise when he kept building upon, insisting chiefly on, his one mistaken idea. This time the fleet reached the West Indian islands further south, where the natives were much more ferocious than those Columbus had met on his first voyage. These he now met were named Canibales, and from them the name canni-

bals has spread over all the world as meaning man-eating savages. Not only did they eat their neighbors, they fought the strange white men with poisoned arrows that killed several. This was not at all the welcome Columbus had led his Spaniards to expect.

Sailing then in search of La Navidad, Columbus found it burned and its people dead. Just what had happened we are not sure; but apparently the Spaniards, when no longer restrained by their admiral's wise gentleness, had fought among themselves until many were slain. Moreover, they had so tyrannized over the natives, that at length the latter had risen in desperation and killed the last survivors.

31. COLUMBUS BUILT A CITY, BUT HIS FOLLOWERS WANTED GOLD

Columbus at once built a new settlement, Isabella, as a center for further exploration. He planned this settlement as a complete city, hoping to make it worthy of the queen for whom he named it. But his men had not come with him to build and colonize; they wanted to find rich cities immediately, and to return home with gold. Some ships soon sailed for Spain, and with them went the first complaints against Columbus.

The returning voyagers declared that there was no wealth in these Indies, and that the admiral was after all, a foreigner and a commoner. They said he had no proper idea of how to deal with Spanish gentlemen; he made them work. The complaints found ready listeners among King Ferdinand's advisers.

Columbus himself explored and explored, and found only wild and empty lands. He fell ill with disappointment. He returned home in 1496 with nothing brighter to report than the discovery of more unknown coasts. His whole three years of labor, on this second voyage, costly indeed

in both money and human lives, brought no golden reward.

32. ON A THIRD VOYAGE HE REACHED SOUTH AMERICA

King Ferdinand, still supporting the admiral, sent him on a third voyage, but with no such gorgeous fleet as on the second one. In this voyage, in 1498, Columbus first reached the mainland of America, touching the coast near the mouth of the Orinoco River.

He had no realization even yet that this was another continent. He indeed judged that so great a river must have a great continent behind it, but he still thought of this as Asia. He sent word that he had found what he hoped was the original home of man, the site of Paradise. The way that the wealth of these new lands still evaded him, he believed was due to the direct effort of the devil seeking to thwart his plan for a crusade.

He even began shipping hundreds of Indians to Spain as slaves, hoping in this way to gain at least such wealth as Portugal had gained in Africa.

33. SPAIN, DISSATISFIED, APPOINTED ANOTHER GOVERNOR

Meanwhile in Europe there were happenings rich and splendid for mankind, but very unfortunate for Columbus. The Portuguese shipmen at last attained the goal for which they had so long been striving. One of their expeditions succeeded in sailing around Africa, and on to India. There they found the rich cities for which Columbus had been seeking in vain, and in 1499 a ship returned to Portugal actually laden with the long sought treasures of the East.

The Portuguese king, successor to that John who had both cheated and befriended Columbus, boastfully pro-

claimed this discovery of a real road to India. He taunted Spain for her lack of profit from the discoveries of Columbus, which had before filled Portugal with envy. The Spanish enemies of Columbus became bitter in their charges against him; his whole management of the West Indies was represented as spendthrift, cruel and corrupt. Even Isabella disapproved angrily of his course when he enslaved the Indians. She stopped their being sent to Spain for sale.

At length King Ferdinand ordered a governor out to San Domingo to take the admiral's place (1500). This brutal newcomer so far exceeded orders that he arrested Columbus and his two brothers, and sent them all three back to Spain in chains.

34. COLUMBUS WAS WRECKED ON A LAST DISASTROUS VOYAGE

A reaction followed. The very folk who had clamored against Columbus were shocked at sight of the great admiral treated like a criminal. Queen Isabella received him with tears; and King Ferdinand solemnly rebuked the brutal governor. Columbus received elaborate apologies; but he was not restored to his position.

Instead a fourth exploring expedition was prepared for him. This, however, accomplished no new or striking discovery. It was shipwrecked off the coast of Cuba; and for an entire year the voyagers almost starved in the wilderness. The great leader's iron strength was broken, and he returned to Spain exhausted and dying.

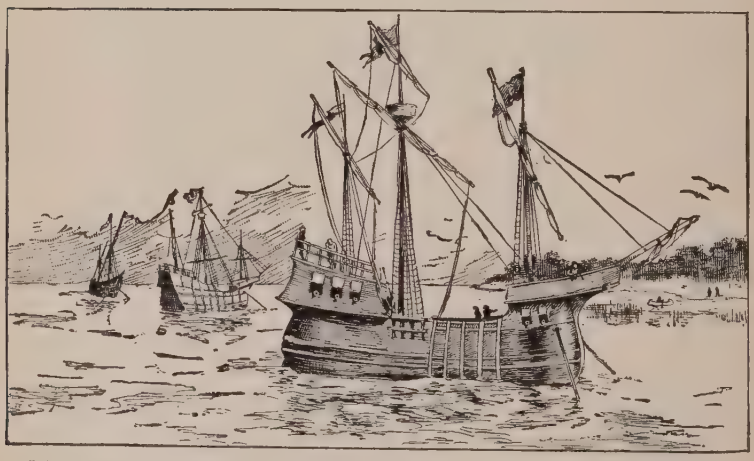
35. HE DIED NEGLECTED, BUT HIS HONORS WENT TO HIS SON

Isabella was already on her death bed; and Columbus was now neglected, ignored. All his rights and privileges in the Indies had been denied him. Most of these were after-

ward restored to his son Diego. But this restoration was not made because of a tardy justice to Columbus. It was because Diego was so fortunate as to marry a Spanish princess. So a commoner, this once ragged half-starved little boy Diego, did rise to be a Spanish prince, and remained one.

A sketch made at the time to show Columbus discovering the "Pearl Islands" off the South American coast on his third voyage

Long before this marriage Columbus had died in 1506, impoverished and unnoticed. He had touched such heights of fame and such deeps of misery as few men know; but amid every widest extreme of fortune he kept his courage and persistency. Even to his sad death, he maintained his faith in all things high and noble.



The Niña, the Pinta, and the Santa Maria, Off the Bahama Shore

CHAPTER THREE

THE SPANISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA

The Story of the Amazing Adventures of Spain's Daring Rovers

(1500–1574)

I. SPAIN DID A GREAT WORK TOWARD CIVILIZING AMERICA

Spain was the first of the European countries to establish her people and her power in the new world. In the first hundred years after the discovery, Spanish rule was extended over most of South America, and all of Central America and Mexico. It also spread over a large part of what is now the southern and western United States.

Spain can hardly be said to have colonized this vast domain; rather she held it as a conquered empire. A few thousand Spaniards ruled over millions of Indians, and impressed upon them the Spanish type of civilization, its language, laws, and religion, and even to some extent the Spanish qualities of character and brain.

Thus the Spanish-American lands and peoples became wholly different from the regions further north. There the French, British and Dutch were later to plant their flags and build their colonies. In those northern regions, the Indians were few, and the Europeans never established an empire over them; hence the northern lands became colonies wholly European, occupied by white men. In the Spanish colonies, the populace remained chiefly Indian.

For any parallel to the broad work of Spain in trans-

ferring her civilization to another race, we must look to the work of the British in India, or perhaps to that of Rome in impressing its culture upon ancient Europe.

2. THE EXPLORERS WERE PRIMITIVE AND ROMANTIC

Spain became for a time the chief Power of Europe. The explorers who spread her empire over America were not her foremost leaders, but they were some of her most daring adventurers. Spurred on by the wonder of their own discoveries, they accomplished such tremendous deeds as even now must rouse us to amazement.

Most of these explorers were, however, men of primitive character. That is to say they acted with little thought. Their emotions were usually selfish and knew small guidance or control. Their hates were fierce and brutal. Their trust in romance was extravagant. Their desires were for obvious things, riches, power, fame.

If the Spanish adventurers had possessed greater wisdom and a more widespread sense of human brotherhood and generosity, they might have done their work much better—all human deeds might thus be better done. Yet without the Spaniards' amazing hardihood, self-reliance and poetic imagination, they could never have accomplished their great work at all.

3. THEY HAD LEARNED TO DESTROY RATHER THAN CONSTRUCT

All the earlier history of Spain had been preparing her people for this task. For over six hundred years they had been fighting the Moors, and slowly driving these Mohammedan invaders back. Spanish life had been one long warfare in which religion and patriotism, faith and country, had been always bound together. Every Spaniard thought of a heathen as a monstrous, evil thing. Now

the last Moor had been expelled from Spain, and in that moment of victory, the new world called.

Thus the men who rushed to join Columbus on his second voyage, and who thereafter came crowding to these new "Indies" with every expedition, were like children in their ready yielding to each new mood that stirred them. They were as quick to applaud a generous deed as they were to imitate a brutal one. Their fierce energy made them perhaps the ablest people of their time for conquest and for exploration; but their haughtiness and recklessness made them the worst of colonizers and often the most cruel of rulers.

4. HISPANIOLA, THEIR FIRST COLONY, FAILED TO PROSPER

The island of San Domingo, Hispaniola as they called it, was the center from which they first pushed forward their explorations. This colony was very badly managed by the governors who followed Columbus. It became a hotbed of quarrels and factions, and of complaints ever being rushed back to the Spanish king.

The adventurers were ready to dare any splendid deed whatever. They were eager to attempt any amount of fighting and enduring for the sake of gold and fame. But, as we have seen, Hispaniola contained no rich cities to be stormed. Gold mines were indeed discovered later, but were slow of development.

The foremost needs of each new settlement were food and shelter, crops and buildings. These could be gained only by that slow, patient labor which was the very last thing the Spaniards would consent to give.

5. THE INDIANS WERE ENSLAVED AND DIED BY THOUSANDS

Instead, the colonists made the helpless Indians work for them. Soon the natives of Hispaniola were reduced to

a most dreadful slavery. They were regarded as heathens some of whom, at least in other islands, had proved to be cannibals and had fought the Spaniards with poisoned arrows.

It was easy to transfer to these poor barbarians the hatred felt for the Moors. They were driven to heavy work, for which they were wholly unfitted. When they angered their masters, they were tortured horribly. When they rebelled, they were slain in hundreds.

Diseases too crept in from Europe, diseases which the Indians had never known and which their bodies were wholly unprepared to resist. Smallpox and other scourges slew them by thousands. Within twenty years the Indians of Hispaniola had been almost wiped out. Their place was taken by negro slaves, who proved better able to withstand the hardships of labor in the mines, and who were less suspected by their masters.

6. THE DEATH TOLL WAS TERRIBLE AMONG THE SPANIARDS ALSO

The dreadful fate of the natives of Hispaniola was shared also, though in lesser degree, by the natives of the neighboring isles. These the Spaniards occupied one by one, bringing with them disease and slavery. Afterward the search for new slaves to replace the dead caused the invaders to raid far distant regions. Even the mainland as far north as Chesapeake Bay was ravaged in this way.

Nor was the costly toll of death known to one side only. America had its diseases, unfamiliar to Europe. What with fevers, hardships of the wilderness, battle, shipwreck and sheer starvation, the Spaniards were swept away almost as rapidly as the Indians. Probably not one in five of the earlier comers survived the struggle longer than a year.

Spain built her empire here at a cost from which she was never to recover.

7. YET THEY PERSISTED: THE MAINLAND WAS EXPLORED

None of the eager adventurers were willing to stop in Hispaniola. The settlement there was at first regarded merely as a stepping stone to the rich and civilized lands of Asia which were still supposed to lie just beyond. The chief aim of each new expedition was to find and conquer these Indies of the imagination. Columbus, as we have seen, kept searching and searching for them till his death. So did many another shipman; though few of the others reported their voyages as Columbus did, with such care and fullness that we can trace them now.

Most notable to us among these earlier explorers was Amerigo Vespucci (ă mĕr′ ĭ gō vĕs poo′ chē), another Italian and indeed fellow-townsman of Columbus, a native of Genoa in the service of Spain. Amerigo went on several expeditions, joining the earlier ones not as their commander but as their man of learning, their map-maker, observer, scientist.

It is probable though not certain that in the first of these voyages, in 1497, Amerigo sailed north along the coast of Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico and so on around Florida. This would make him and his companions the first Spaniards to see and touch the mainland of the United States.

8. PORTUGAL CLAIMED HER SHARE OF AMERICA

On a later expedition, serving now with Portugal instead of Spain, Amerigo sailed all along the coast of Brazil. This land had already been stumbled upon by a Portuguese admiral who was leading a fleet around Africa to the real India (1500).

Indeed Brazil was found to extend so much further eastward than the lands discovered by Columbus that it belonged to Portugal. You will recall that Pope Alexander had drawn an imaginary dividing line through the mid Atlantic; this had been set so far west that it cut through Brazil and gave that country's eastern coast to Portugal.

So Amerigo, under a Portuguese flag, sailed along this coast for some two thousand miles. At length the fact dawned upon him that South America was no mere island, but an entire continent, the very existence of which had been unsuspected.

9. AMERIGO VESPUCCI FIRST CALLED THIS A NEW WORLD

Amerigo called this southern continent a "new world," for it extended like Africa across the equator and far into the southern hemisphere, where no land was supposed to be. On returning to Europe, Amerigo wrote a letter telling enthusiastically of this "new world"; and this letter was so widely published and read with so much interest that presently the map-makers attached Amerigo's name to this new southern continent. To make the name parallel in form to the names of the other half-known continents of Asia and Africa, they changed Amerigo somewhat fancifully to America.

In this no injustice was intended to Columbus. The lands he had discovered were still supposed to be a part of Asia, the islands off its coast. He thus thought of them himself, and so did other men until years after his death. The mighty land of which Amerigo now told was a different thing, a "new world" indeed, which the map-makers supposed to extend south of Asia, in the same way that Africa extended south of Europe. They gave it on their maps some such position as we now know that Australia occupies.

10. AMERIGO'S NAME WAS SPREAD OVER HALF THE GLOBE

The name of Amerigo was at first applied only to that southern America which he had taught men to see. Then gradually the map-makers realized in later years that there was also a new continent in the north, wholly separate from Asia. So the name America gradually extended northward following the slowly unrolling map. Meanwhile

Title-page of the Book of Amerigo's Voyages

Amerigo Vespucci

Amerigo himself had returned to the Spanish service, had won his way by hard and able work to the high office of Chief Pilot of Spain, and had died in 1512.

Chance plays strange tricks. Columbus and Amerigo were once fellow-townsmen and seem to have been close and loyal comrades. Columbus in the last year of his own life wrote a warm letter praising his younger friend. Yet when in a later generation Amerigo's name became established for the continent, men carelessly accused him of having deliberately stolen the fame of his friend.

In truth, during all Amerigo's lifetime, neither he nor any one else guessed that his name was to be so widely spread across the face of the world.

11. DE LEON REACHED OUR UNITED STATES MAINLAND

The fact that North America was a new continent remained unrealized for over half a century. The slow unveiling of the broad lands of the United States may have begun with that first vague voyage of Amerigo and his companions. Otherwise the distinction of having first surely found and landed on the mainland of the United States belongs to Juan, which means John, Ponce de Leon (oo ŏn′ pŏn′ thā dā lā ōn′).

The romantic side of these wild Spaniards shows strongly in his story. Juan was a gallant young Spanish grandee who had reached Hispaniola with Columbus on that costly "second voyage" and had remained one of the admiral's ablest and most loyal adherents. He grew wealthy and famous with the passing years and in 1508 was entrusted with the conquest of Porto Rico, the Spanish island added to the United States in 1898.

12. HE RAVAGED PORTO RICO AND DISCOVERED FLORIDA

De Leon subdued this island with the usual fierceness of the Spaniards, aided considerably by his savage dogs. One of these in particular was so intelligent, so powerful, and so obedient to his master that the Indians feared this beast far above the Spaniards. The dog, Bezerillo, in the division of captured spoils, was allotted a man's share and then a half share. He seems to have earned his extra reward by tracking and slaying Indians as furiously as his masters.

In Porto Rico, Ponce de Leon heard a long established legend of the Indians, telling that somewhere among the islands to the west lay a "fountain of youth." Whoever bathed in its waters was made young and strong. Every Spaniard half believed in fairy tales. De Leon was not unwilling to regain his youth; he also wanted more fame and power, so he gathered an expedition to explore these magic isles.

He reached the coast of Florida on Easter Sunday, 1513; and gazing on its wealth of flowers he gave to the new island, as he supposed it was, the name of Florida or "land of flowers."

13. THE FLORIDA INDIANS DEFIED AND SLEW THE INTRUDER

Sailing south along this coast De Leon was twice fiercely attacked by the Indians, who proved of far greater strength and spirit than those of Porto Rico. Finally, as he sailed up the western coast of Florida, he was attacked again by natives who rowed out in their canoes and assailed his ships with showers of arrows from every side. Convinced that such savages could not be conquered by his small force, De Leon turned back to Porto Rico, resolving to search for the fountain among more peaceful isles.

Eight years later, having meanwhile added much to his fame and wealth, he came again from his island of Porto Rico with a much larger following, resolved to conquer Florida wholly. But in his first effort to land, the Indians met him as fiercely as ever, and he was mortally wounded by an arrow. He sailed away, and died a few days later. His "land of flowers" had brought him not youth but death.

14. BALBOA DISCOVERED THE PACIFIC BUT LOST HIS LIFE

In the same year, 1513, that De Leon began the exploration of the wide-extending mainland of the United States,

another venturesome Spaniard, Balboa (băl bō′ ă), gave to men a still stronger suggestion of the true size of the Earth, which the map-makers had so under-estimated. They had no suspicion of the existence of the vast Pacific Ocean, which covers almost half the globe. Balboa found for them this hugest of all hidden things.

Balboa was refused a place on an expedition to Panama, so he hid in a cask and had himself carried on board the ship. Later he fought his way to the leadership of an expedition not really his own. The Spaniards were searching as always for gold. So a friendly chief told Balboa of another mighty ocean which lay just beyond the mountains of Panama and extended south to a region of golden wealth, Peru.

At this news, Balboa led his men to the summit of the mountain ridge, forcing his way through the almost impenetrable tropic vegetation. At the last step he bade all others stand back, while alone he reached the crest. He was thus the first of white men to gaze upon the vast waters of the Pacific. Afterward Balboa waded out into the new ocean, waved his flag above it, and proclaimed that he took possession of all these endless waters—for Spain.

The Panama Coast of the Pacific looks toward the south, so Balboa called this the South Sea. He dreamt at once of building ships and sailing to the conquest of the rich unknown land of Peru, of which he had been told. He returned to the settlements to arrange a proper expedition. He built crude ships on the shore of the new ocean; but these proved unseaworthy, and Balboa perished in one of the savage intrigues which were forever dividing the fierce Spaniards (1519). So the capture of the riches of Peru was left to others.

15. THE PACIFIC WAS FIRST EXPLORED BY MAGELLAN

The "South Sea," which Balboa thus discovered, was to be first crossed in 1520. The man who accomplished this was Ferdinand Magellan (mă jĕl′ ăn), a Portuguese commanding a Spanish fleet. Magellan had long been trying to persuade the Portuguese king to continue the search for another road to India by sailing around South America, as his captains had already sailed around Africa. This king, however, refused Magellan's seemingly fantastic project, as the former king had refused Columbus. So Magellan also abandoned Portugal and found aid in Spain. In 1519 he set sail to search southward for a passage around Amerigo's "new world".

As the icy cold of the American southland increased, Magellan's Spanish followers would have abandoned the search, but with iron will their chief suppressed mutiny after mutiny. He kept his ships wintering in the snow, and then when spring came, the spring which to men in the north was the autumn of 1520, he found the strait which still bears his name. Pushing through this remarkable chasm, he was the first white man to view the southern Pacific.

With infinite daring Magellan sailed straight out upon this utterly unguessed ocean. Just so Columbus had sailed out upon the Atlantic; but Columbus started with fresh ships. Magellan's ships were already storm-beaten, his provisions low, his crews in revolt. There was no home shelter behind, no other ships running up and down this coast from port to port. No keel had ever cut these mighty waves.

16. MAGELLAN DIED BUT HIS SHIP ENCIRCLED THE WORLD

Magellan crossed the Pacific in a voyage of misery. Starvation and death by thirst were often dangerously close. After several months of sailing, the daring Portuguese reached the Phillipines and found the real Asia, the goal which the Spaniards so mistakenly thought they had already attained.

In the Philippines Magellan was killed by savages; but one of his ships continued on to India and back to Spain, completing in three years the first of all voyages circling entirely around the world. This stupendous three-year voyage into the unknown, with its constant battling against cold and storm, savages and mutineers, and its final triumphant proof that our world is round, this mighty voyage is rightly thought of as the greatest exploit man has ever accomplished upon the seas.

The triumph of Columbus was a triumph of the MIND, which could conceive and measure a new order of the universe. The triumph of Magellan was of the WILL, able to compel others to his purpose and hold steady against every danger and every fear.

17. THE PHILIPPINES WERE COLONIZED FROM AMERICA

More than twenty years passed before the Pacific was again crossed. Then in 1542 a Spanish ship from Mexico ventured the passage to the Philippines. It was captured by the Portuguese, who were exploring eastward from India. Twenty-two years later another Mexican expedition was sent out, and a colony was founded, of which Manila became the capital (1571). The governors of Mexico began sending a yearly trading ship to the Philippines.

Thus these Asiatic islands received their white settlers from America, not from Europe, and their produce reached Spain by way of Mexico. They were at the first what they became again after our war with Spain, an American dependency.

Ferdinand Magellan and the ship "Victory" that first sailed around the World

18. CORTEZ CONQUERED THE AZTEC EMPIRE IN MEXICO

Meanwhile, another daring Spaniard, Cortez (kŏr′ tāz), surprised himself and his nation by at length discovering a wealthy empire right beneath their hands. For some years the Spaniards had been groping along the edge of the Aztec empire in Mexico; but the coastline gave small hint of the rich land beyond. They resolved now to explore the region and conquer it; and the task was entrusted to Hernando Cortez with seven hundred men (1519).

Almost at once the wealth and power of the Aztecs was revealed to the explorers. The Spaniards were met by organized armies and had to fight desperate battles. Cortez

proved himself a great general. He secured allies from the Indians previously subject to the Aztecs; he secured the aid of a second Spanish expedition which had been sent to deprive him of his command. Every youth should read the full tale of this amazing, romantic, terrible and tragic struggle of the iron-willed Cortez against the wavering, pathetic Aztec emperor, Montezuma (mŏn tē zoo′ mă).

After two years of fierce and constant fighting, Cortez held undisputed mastery of the Aztec empire and of its capital, the Mexico City of today. The gold which he extorted by torture and sent to Spain exceeded anything the world had ever known before.

19. THE WEALTH OF MEXICO INSPIRED NEW EXPLORERS

Thus at last the new discoveries of Spain brought home to her a wealth far exceeding all that Portugal was gaining from the real Indies. There was never afterward any question as to which of the rival nations had won the most profit from its explorations.

A few years later the other American empire of which Balboa had heard, that of the Incas in Peru, was discovered and similarly conquered by Ferdinand Pizarro. Spain thus became by far the richest kingdom in the world. She began to look back with a livelier gratitude to the long-neglected and long-dead Columbus.

The splendid success of Cortez in winning such immense wealth for himself and for Spain naturally spurred other Spaniards to attempt the same. The coastline of Mexico had shown no evidence of the cities and riches that lay behind it. Similarly any other stretch of wilderness along this ever-extending mainland might hide as rich a prize.

20. FLORIDA'S CONQUEST WAS AGAIN ATTEMPTED AND FAILED

Men recalled how firmly Ponce de Leon had been repulsed by the "giant" Indians along the west coast of Florida. Such giants might prove to be the outposts of another golden empire.

The interior of our country, however, was to prove no such rich and easy victim for the Spaniards. Its value lay not in gold but in a fertile soil. It was a world for workers who were content to earn their livelihood, not for

Montezuma, the Aztec Emperor

Hernando Cortez

plunderers who sought to steal its wealth at a blow. Well defended by its resolute Indians our land held for the Spaniards nothing but suffering, long and weary struggling, exhaustion, death.

In 1528, a strong force under De Narvaez landed near where Tampa now stands, and fought their way into the interior. The Indians proved, as De Leon had found them, even sturdier fighters than the Aztecs. Nor had they any cities to be stormed and held captive. The Spaniards made little progress through the wilderness, and found nothing but poor, wooden villages. They burned these; but the

natives still fought desperately from the forests. At length, a mere remnant of this powerful expedition faced starvation at Appalachee Bay. The men built themselves crude barks and endeavored to escape by sailing to Mexico.

21. THE FIRST WHITE MAN CROSSED OUR WHOLE CONTINENT

Storm and famine pursued the unfortunate survivors of the Florida expedition until only four of them were left, three Spaniards and a negro slave. These four were stranded on the coast of Texas, prisoners of the Indians.

The ablest of these four survivors, their natural leader, was a Spanish nobleman, whose gorgeous family name was Cabeza de Vaca (kă bā′ thă dā vă′ kă), which when translated into English means merely "head of a cow", a name of honor given to the family for a martial exploit centuries before. Cabeza had been the official treasurer of the ruined expedition and, according to his own account, the only reasonably cautious man among its leaders. He now convinced the natives, and eventually perhaps himself, that he was a great healer of the sick, a miracle maker. As such, he led his comrades from tribe to tribe, sometimes treated as a slave, sometimes almost as a god. Thousands of natives sometimes followed him across the country, singing and dancing, consulting him for guidance about every trifle.

Thus he wandered for years, crossing southern Texas, crossing Mexico and finally reaching the lower Pacific coast. Along this he journeyed southward until (1536) he fell in with a slave-hunting party from the settlements established by Cortez. This was the first successful effort of a white man to live among the Indians and dominate them by his wits. Cabeza's story, as written down by himself, is as fascinating in its way as that of Cortez.

The Aztecs Defending Mexico City against the Spaniards of Cortez
From an old painting by Alonzo Chappel

22. FABLED EMPIRES LURED MEN ON

During this remarkable journey, Cabeza and his companions had heard rumors of some splendid cities far to the north. These tales we now know must have referred to the "pueblos" or communal houses of the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico and Arizona.

These pueblos are large indeed, but not architecturally grand, and in no way wealthy. They are a much cruder form of the buildings which the Spaniards had called the "castles" of the Aztecs. They are masses of stone, made large by adding one little stone hut to another, so that an entire town of people lived within a single structure.

The mere rumor of new cities was, however, enough to rouse the Spaniards. Here then was the new conquest they had been hoping for! An expedition was at once organized; and thus the southwestern regions of the United States were deeply penetrated long before the east became equally known. Indeed, three rival expeditions started for these "Seven Cities of Cibola", as legend named them.

23. A CRUDE FLEET WAS BUILT ON THE PACIFIC

The first search for Cibola was by a naval expedition, hurried forth under orders direct from Cortez. Its ships were remarkable in that they had been built upon the Pacific coast, to which every article of their equipment had been carried across the whole of Mexico. Heavy iron anchors and all had been dragged over mountain passes, thousands of feet in height. These ships were little fitted for ocean storms; yet crude as they were, the daring Spanish sailors braved in them the mighty waves of the Pacific.

On this expedition the ships circled the Gulf of California and then sailed far up the coast of Lower California,

but returned convinced they were not upon the route to Cibola.

24. AN ITALIAN VENTURED ALONE INTO THE UNKNOWN

Then an Italian priest, Friar Marcos of Nice, was sent practically alone to travel among the Indians as a friend, and thus test the reports brought by Cabeza and his three companions. As guide, Father Marcos tried to get one of these wanderers to return with him. The only one who would was the negro slave, called by his former masters Stephen or little Steve (Estevanico).

Stephen had seen Cabeza practice as a "medicine man", and was sure he could do the same. For a time he was successful. With a train of Indians drifting after them these two strangely matched comrades, the half-civilized negro and the cultured Italian priest, travelled up the Mexican valleys, and over the mountains to New Mexico. They heard positive news now of the "seven cities", that is, of the Zuñi pueblos; and Stephen journeyed proudly ahead to the first of these.

The coming of this "black Mexican" is still preserved in Zuñi tradition. The Zuñi Chiefs received him surlily and with suspicion, and upon his insisting on giving commands, they slew him. Later, says the tradition, his white countrymen came and terribly avenged him.

At Stephen's death his Indian attendants fled in dismay. They had been taught that both Stephen and Father Marcos were invulnerable; and in their fear and anger they came near to slaying Father Marcos also. He escaped them and, having seen the pueblos only from a distance, returned to Mexico with a full conviction that another rich empire had been found (1539).

25. CALIFORNIA WAS EXPLORED DESPITE STORM AND DEATH

Two new expeditions at once set out. One went by means of the ships, under the command of Alarcon (ă lăr kŏn′). He sailed up the Gulf of California forcing his way against its currents and across shallows. Alarcon reached the great Colorado River, and probably touched the soil of both California and Arizona (1540). He then returned; but there promptly followed a yet more notable voyage.

Rumors of the Great Salt Lake of Utah having reached the Spaniards, they naturally took this as evidence of an ocean passage to the northward connecting the Atlantic and Pacific—the direct route to Asia for which they had been always seeking. So a Portuguese sea captain, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo (oo ŏn′ rŏd rē′ gāth kă brē′ yō), was sent with two tiny ships of the home-made Pacific fleet, to explore the northward coast. Cabrillo, forcing his crude boats onward against persistent heavy storms, sailed along the whole coast of California (1542). He discovered the harbor of San Diego, was injured by a fall but refused to return home, and wintered on the island of Juan Rodriguez, named after himself. There he died.

His ships the next spring sailed north again as far as Oregon. Once more they were driven back by storms. They had achieved two things, given Spain a claim to all that coast, and established the fact that there was no ocean passage to the Atlantic. North America was thus at last recognized by the Spaniards as a continent.

26. CORONADO EXPLORED OUR CENTRAL PLAINS

Meanwhile a large and well-organized land expedition had also been searching for the fabled wealth of Cibola. While Alarcon was sailing up the Gulf of California,

The California Indians Watch the Approach of the First Spanish Ships
From a mural painting in the California State House

Coronado (cō rō nah′ thō), the governor of northern Mexico, was marching apace with him along the Mexican coast, leading three hundred adventurers to achieve the conquest of this new empire (1540). Coronado retraced the course of Father Marcos, and reached the Zuñi pueblos. In fierce revenge for the death of the negro Stephen he stormed these one after the other with fire and slaughter. They possessed, however, none of the expected gold.

Sorely disappointed, Coronado sent out side expeditions to hunt for other cities. To get rid of him, the Indians told him of the wealth of Quivira, another city far to the northward. Seeking this, he journeyed as far as Kansas, only to find that Quivira also was but a poor and barren town. His people had exciting sport hunting buffalo over the great plains; but neither that nor killing Indians could compensate them for the faded mirage of the fabled "seven cities." They returned to Mexico in 1542, disgusted with the broad and empty northlands.

27. THE SPANIARDS ENTERED SIXTEEN OF OUR PRESENT STATES AND WITHDREW AGAIN

The costly failure of all these expeditions into the north contrasted sadly with the triumphs the Spaniards had gained in the South. This fixed more firmly in Spanish minds the saying long since insisted on by their leaders, that it was idle to explore in America the northern lands which resembled Europe in climate.

Of her own products Europe had already plenty. As one enthusiastic churchman wrote, "To the South, to the South for the riches of the Tropics, they that seek riches must go, not into the cold and frozen north!"

The experiences of Cabeza had certainly not been such as to encourage others to explore the northern wilderness.

Yet from his expedition sprang not only that of Coronado, but another which also penetrated deep into United States' territory. Narvaez's expedition in the first days of its power touched only one of our future States, Florida. But its fugitive boats touched the coasts of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and Cabeza de Vaca travelled across

Puppet Dance Among the Zuñi Indians of Today

Texas, Within the next five years the Spaniards, east and west entered sixteen States or more. In the west, Coronado and Alarcon touched California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas and perhaps Nebraska.

In the east now came Hernando De Soto's famous march which touched not only the three eastern Gulf States but

also probably Georgia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma and Louisiana.

28. DE SOTO FOUGHT HIS WAY ACROSS FLORIDA

De Soto had been one of the conquerors of Peru and was accounted one of the four chief fighters of Spanish America. Returning with great wealth to Spain, he was received with high honor and appointed governor of Cuba and the still almost unknown "'Florida". It was at this moment that Cabeza returned to Spain with his news of the complete destruction of the former Florida expedition. De Soto at once resolved to carve out for himself this empire of the North. With 600 men, the most powerful and best equipped army that had ever entered the wilderness, he landed in Florida near the site of Tampa, and began fighting his way north (1539).

Former expeditions had by their cruelties filled the natives with a deadly hate of all Spaniards. To De Soto's appeals for peace, one chief sent an answer which has been recorded. "Others of your accursed race in years past poisoned our shores. They have taught me what you are. You rob the poor; you murder the defenseless. With such people I will have no friendship but only war, unending war to the death".

De Soto's expedition at least escaped the complete disaster that had overtaken the preceding one; but it did little more. Everywhere the Indians fought desperately, matching the Spaniards man for man despite the latters' armor and their terrifying horses. These were probably the most civilized Indians of the United States, until this devastating march of De Soto. He devoured their stored grain, destroyed their gardens and burned their abandoned towns.

29. HE FOUND WARFARE AND ADVENTURE BUT NO GOLD

This was indeed a blind wandering through a wilderness. In the course of two years marching and fighting, De Soto entered every southeastern State. Somewhere in South Carolina, probably at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River, he met and made friends with a young Indian queen, the ruler of a tribe the Spaniards called Cofachiqui. The

The Chief Spanish Explorers of United States Lands

young queen was treated with much honor by the Spaniards, but was compelled to join their march as a protector and a guide. She escaped by sudden flight, leaving them to grope on alone for the rich empire which did not exist.

Somewhere in Alabama, at a town called Mavilla, the name of which is still preserved in Mobile, De Soto fought a regular battle, the first large Indian battle in the United States. Tuscaloosa, the Indian chief of Mavilla, perished

with his burning city; but in this contest alone, over a hundred Spaniards perished, while they claim to have killed more than a thousand Indians.

30. DE SOTO DISCOVERED THE MISSISSIPPI AND DIED

In 1541 De Soto reached the Mississippi, somewhere below the site of Memphis, Tennessee. He crossed the mighty river, and continued on through Missouri and Arkansas. His people now were but a few days' journey from those of Coronado, who heard rumors of De Soto's passage. Strange indeed that the two expeditions should thus have crossed each other in this vast wilderness, each one journeying thousands of miles through the unknown!

Later, De Soto returned to the Mississippi further south, near the mouth of the Arkansas. Here, despairing of his hopeless search, he died in 1542. His men buried him in the great river, his chief discovery. Then the survivors, scarcely half the original army, built boats and sailed down the Mississippi and so on to Mexico. They had at least exhausted the possibility of finding another Aztec empire in the southeastern United States, or even of establishing Spanish rule over the natives there.

31. FLORIDA FINALLY YIELDED TO SETTLEMENT

After this, even Florida failed to interest the Spanish chiefs, until the French began threatening to take possession of some part of the Atlantic coast. To prevent this the Spaniards resolved to plant a military settlement on the east coast of Florida. Thus, in 1565, not far from where De Leon had first landed over half a century before, they founded St. Augustine. It is the oldest city of the continental United States, though our island possessions include also De Leon's island of Porto Rico, where

De Soto Reaches the Mississippi
From the National painting in the Capitol at Washington

in 1511 he had built San Juan, named after his own name-saint.

St. Augustine was built by Pedro Menendez (mā nān'-dāth) of whose struggle against the French we shall hear again. The town remained for centuries the chief northern stronghold of the Spaniards.

32. LAS CASAS RESCUED THE INDIANS FROM SLAVERY

Every expedition we have so far pictured, had been conducted against the Indians with that terrible Spanish ferocity which equalled the Spanish energy; though from this dark accusation, we can except the expeditions of the great Columbus himself, and also the journey of Father Marcos. We must turn now to the kindlier side of the picture. The miseries of the enslaved and tortured Indians had from the first aroused Queen Isabella. She insisted that the natives were her subjects, not her enemies, and were to be protected and converted to Christianity, rather than punished for their heathenism. But Isabella was far from the scene and had little knowledge of the brutalities inflicted in the name of "Christianity and Castile."

The chief championship of the Indians came from an eye-witness. Bartholomew de Las Casas (lahs kah' săs) was a young nobleman who had come to Hispaniola in 1502. He was a thoughtful young man, and in 1510 he entered the priesthood, the first man thus consecrated to religion in America. Nevertheless, he continued to hold slaves like the other colonials, until in 1511 the Dominican monks who had recently reached the island, started a vehement preaching against the cruelty to the Indians.

Las Casas, a type of all that was noblest in these emotional Spaniards, was roused to a keen sympathy for the miserable natives. He freed his own slaves; he preached

everywhere against slavery. Then finding that his words had little effect upon the other Spaniards, he journeyed to Spain to appeal for laws to protect the Indians. The fiery ardor with which he protested against the horrors he had seen, deeply impressed both king and Pope; and both passed laws against enslaving the Indians.

Making laws on paper was, however, a very different matter from getting them enforced in the far-off colonies. Las Casas was officially appointed Protector of the Indians; and fourteen times did he cross the dangerous ocean to plead on one side or the other for these helpless people. He preached for the first time in America the true "brotherhood of man."

33. THE CHURCH SPREAD CIVILIZATION WITH PEACE

The colonial governors and all the colonists were bitter against this famed "Apostle of the Indians." It was impossible, they declared, to control the savages except by fear. They cursed Las Casas as an idle theorizer, who would destroy their entire empire in America. Let him try his fine ideas once in practice! In 1537 he was given the chance. Most of Central America had by this time been conquered, its Indians almost exterminated; but between the wasted land and Mexico there lay the wild region of Guatemala whose Indians had repulsed the Spaniards again and again. The Spaniards called its inaccessible peaks the "Land of War." Las Casas volunteered to bring a peaceful Christian civilization to this last defiant nation.

The offer was sneeringly accepted; and, aided only by his priests, Las Casas went among the infuriated Indians. Gradually he won their trust, so that at length they agreed to a treaty which subjected them to Spanish taxation but protected their lives and freedom. Moreover, to the as-

tonishment of the other Spaniards they permanently kept their treaty. The "Land of War" became known instead as the "Land of Peace." That was Las Casas' "practical" work.

Kindly laws were now established which led to the gradual freeing of all slaves; and before Las Casas' death in 1566 the horrors of the earlier days had completely passed. The Indians were still roughly handled, some still occasionally revolted, but their condition was ever so much better than it had been in the old days of the Aztecs. Then every subject tribe had been forced to pay a heavy tribute of human sacrifices, slaughtered in cold blood to honor the Aztec gods. Those Indians who had survived the earlier Spanish fury were now set fairly on the road to civilization. They learned the comfort, the security, the happiness which can only come when there is Law, which firmly protects human life and property.

34. MISSIONS WERE PLANTED IN NEW MEXICO, TEXAS AND CALIFORNIA

Exploration in these later years was conducted mainly by the Las Casas method. That is, it was entrusted to the priests. Had Cabeza de Vaca made his desperate journey to the Pacific thirty years later, he would have met no slave-hunting party to rescue him. Instead he would have found in all the western Mexican valleys "mission settlements," a gentle priest surrounded by a group of half-Christianized Indians, worshipping at a little church, which was also a school.

Thus civilization spread slowly northward. It passed from northern Mexico to what is now New Mexico in 1598. Santa Fé was founded in 1609 to be the capital of this northern country. Ysleta, near El Paso, Texas, was built

in 1659, the mission of San Xavier in Arizona about 1687, and the Upper California missions were begun in 1769. Thus Florida and New Mexico were settled by the Spaniards before 1600; and three other southern States were later occupied by their missions.

35. THE SPANISH CIVILIZATION MADE MARKED PROGRESS

By the year 1574, the Spanish Empire in America was running smoothly and prosperously. A grand census taken in that year announced that the "empire" included about ten million Indians and 160,000 Spaniards, though most of the latter were "Spaniards of the second generation", that is, Spaniards born in America. These had been brought up for the most part in wealth and lazy ease, and were never accounted equal to the European Spaniards. They lacked the energy, the initiative, and the persistence of their hard-fighting fathers.

This empire of 1574 would compare in many ways favorably with what either the English or French colonies later accomplished in a similar length of time. The Spaniards had founded a college in Mexico City as early as 1535, and others soon followed. The printing press was introduced in 1536, being used chiefly for religious books. Schools were numerous both for whites and Indians and also for the Indian girls, in an age which even in Europe gave little heed to the education of women.

36. BUT THE INDIANS WERE NOT TAUGHT SELF-GOVERNMENT. THEY WERE KEPT AS CHILDREN AND REMAINED DEPENDENTS

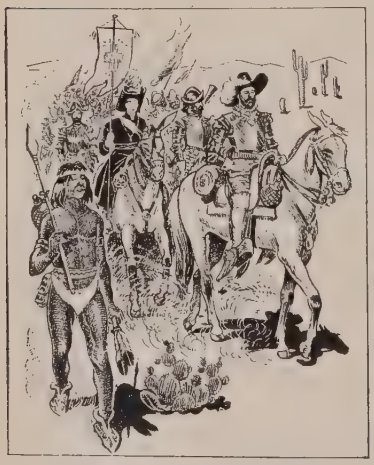
Unfortunately this widespread empire made little progress of its own. It merely copied Spain. The Spanish government in America, while kindly, was repressive. It did everything for its people, but let them do nothing for

themselves. It exacted only an easy labor, but a rigid submission. Thus the wealth of the country was constantly absorbed by Spain and the Spanish officials.

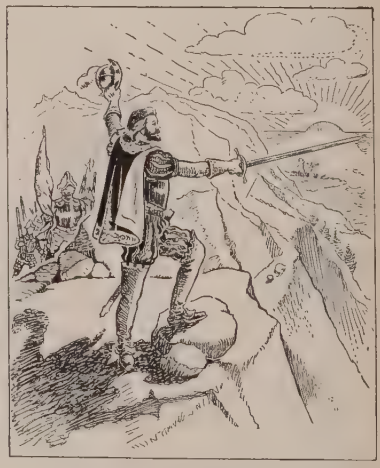
Democracy had not yet been born in America. Government had not yet learned that its duty is to serve the people rather than command them. The only way to help others lastingly is to teach them to help themselves, so that they can stand alone.

The Indians in this Spanish empire lacked all initiative. They remained poor and ignorant and with no encouragement to improve. Their brains, their ideas, were not developed. In mind at least they continued to be little children.

A nation can only be as strong as the spirit of its people. It is wise only with their wisdom.



Coronado Enters the Region of New Mexico



Balboa's First View of the Pacific

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FRENCH IN THE HEART OF AMERICA

The Story of the Heroic French Crusade against the "devils" of the Wilderness

(1500–1720)

I. A "NEW FRANCE" WAS BUILT BY KINGS AND NOBLES: ITS CAREER WAS GLORIOUS BUT UNSUCCESSFUL

The story of France in America is somewhat like the story of Spain. That is, Frenchmen planted in the Canadian regions an empire which they called New France; but its story has to tell again of the weakness of autocratic government. The power was held wholly by a king and his nobles; everything was done for the people, and nothing by the people.

Hence the tale ends in failure; because in an autocracy the people do not learn to guide themselves. Always there comes at last some foolish or evil ruler who leads his people toward destruction. Then the ignorant untrained masses may seize the government madly, but they can neither guide nor save it. That is what finally happened to France even in Europe. Her mighty monarchy fell with a crash; and from its ruin her people slowly built the strong republic of our day.

There are splendid heroes in this tale of the French effort to build an empire in America. We shall read of the dauntless energy of Champlain, La Salle and Frontenac, masterful leaders born of the French aristocracy. We shall read

of missionaries among the Indians, martyrs who suffered and endured with a courage almost beyond belief. The story tells of human strength and faith at their highest.

Yet it must tell also of a fatal absence of united effort. The French leaders lacked that readiness to give others equal rank and share, that spirit of mutual helpfulness and trust, which we call democracy. France had not yet become a republic. She had not learned of the equality and true brotherhood under which every mind may be helped to grow to its fullest power. France produced great leaders in America, but not a mass of independent thinking people, self-guiding and self-governing.

2. NORTHERN EXPLORATION BEGAN WITH SIMPLE FISHERMEN

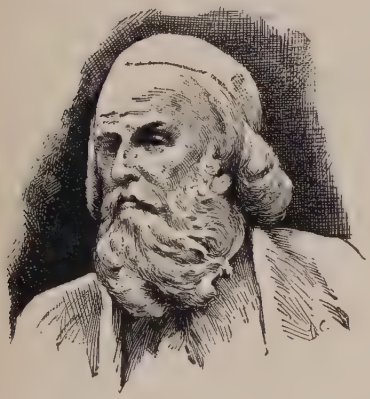
France was the first of the European powers to dispute with Spain for the possession of some part of the vast region of North America. Prince Henry of Portugal had started the period of eastern or African exploration. Columbus started that of western exploration. Under the inspiration of his success, seamen of many other nations ventured out upon the dangerous waters of the Atlantic.

Little record was kept of most of these early trips; before the year 1500, more than one seaman had stumbled upon the coast of Newfoundland. This lay directly westward from France and England, but was far colder than European lands of the same latitude. Its discoverers scarcely thought of connecting this bleak and empty shore with the gorgeous tropic lands found by the Spaniards.

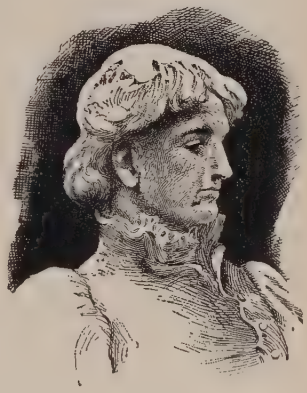
Indeed, the only possible value of this new coast seemed its fisheries. Then as now the Newfoundland waters were alive with the codfish which were to be the basis of New England's earliest wealth. The Catholic Europe of those days ate much fish instead of meat. So presently not only

French and British but also Spanish and Portuguese fishermen were crossing the Atlantic year after year.

They came not with any boastful trumpetings of discovery or planting of gorgeous flags of kingly ownership, but just in the brave and simple business of catching cod. They built warm huts upon the shore, and often stayed there through the stormy winter. The ancient name given to codfish by the fishermen of the Spanish peninsula was



John Cabot



Sebastian Cabot

"baccalaos," and Newfoundland was long known as the "Island of Baccalaos." There is even a French tradition that the bold seamen of northern France had regularly fished off the "Island of Baccalaos" for at least a generation before Columbus.

3. CABOT STARTED BRITISH DISCOVERY IN THE NORTH

Of such vague French voyages we have no records. The earliest certain discovery of this northern American coast, after the Norsemen had abandoned it, was made in 1497 by the Italian, John Cabot (kăb′ ŏt), sailing in the service

of England. Cabot probably visited not only Newfoundland but Labrador and explored the mainland for a long way southward.

There was much enthusiasm in England when the explorer returned. Yet so little real value did the discovery seem to have at the time, that the only official mention of it that remains is a brief royal treasury record. This notes that the king had ordered that ten pounds be paid as a reward "to him that found the new isle."

All these northern lands were set down on the maps as islands. Baccalaos was vaguely pictured as a spot in the open ocean like Iceland. It was separated from Florida and the Spanish islands by some two thousand miles of empty sea, and was scarce thought of as belonging to the rich, new world which Spain had discovered and seized.

Yet only ten pounds for this "new isle!" That meant fifty dollars, or as money then could purchase nearly twenty times as much as now, let us call it a thousand dollars, for discovering the whole northern half of our continent. Contrast this with Spain's vast reward to Columbus, given and promised! It shows how little use England then had for any land beyond her own.

Sebastian Cabot, a son of John, made a voyage to the lands his father had discovered. But, for nearly a century Englishmen made no effort to settle the "new isle." They left it to their rivals, the French.

4. War led France to deny Spain's claim to America

In the years shortly after 1500, France and Spain were often at war; Europe's widespread religious revolt also began, and men ventured to question the value of the Pope's grant of America to Spain. The gay and brilliant French king, Francis I, is reported as saying mockingly that he de-

fied anyone to show him "a copy of old father Adam's will" by which the whole of the west was bequeathed to his rival, the King of Spain.

Then began the plundering of Spanish merchant ships and colonies by the French "privateers." These were ships half way between men-of-war and pirates, since they raided the foe at all times without waiting for kingly declarations of war. Among the most noted of these early sea captains of France was an Italian of Florence, John Verrazano (vĕr răt sah′ nō), who like so many of his countrymen served as an adventurer under a foreign flag.

5. VERRAZANO EXPLORED OUR COAST FOR FRANCE

In 1524, probably after a raid upon the Spaniards, Verrazano sailed north along the whole coast from Spanish Florida to Newfoundland. He hoped to reach Asia by some passage between these two great "islands." Instead of finding a passage, he confirmed what the Spaniards had already learned, that this was one long, unbroken shore.

Verrazano, however, thought that the shore was a mere narrow strip of land like that at Panama, with the Pacific Ocean just beyond. He even reported, as Balboa did, that he had seen this western ocean. Perhaps from some hill upon the Maryland coast, he had looked across to Chesapeake Bay; and its broad waters had really seemed an ocean.

At all events, the "Sea of Verrazano" became an accepted feature of future maps; and for yet another century men regarded northern America as merely a narrow strip of land. They thought of it as a thin but obstinate barrier which was holding them back from Asia. So slowly did the mind of mankind readjust itself to admit that the world could be wide enough to hold a second hemisphere!

Verrazano, searching for the Asiatic strait, explored the harbor of New York, in which city a statue now stands in his honor. Two years later, he was probably captured by the Spaniards and hanged as a pirate, though one report says he was eaten by the Indians. Parts of the coast along which he sailed had been already seen by the Spaniards and by the Cabots. France, however, made Verrazano's fuller search the basis for claiming an equal right to trade there.

6. CARTIER FOUND CANADA TOO BLEAK FOR COLONIZING

In 1534 the French king sent Jacques Cartier (zhăk kar tyā′) to explore and find a place for settling these new lands. Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence river, and hoped that here at last was the strait which led to China.

So the next year he sailed up the river to the site of Montreal. There the first shallow "rapids" broke the broad smooth-flowing current and proved that this was not an arm of the ocean. Moreover, it was clear that so huge a river must have a broad continent behind it. Here was a land well worth winning for his beloved France.

For some years Cartier persisted in the effort to found a colony on the St. Lawrence. But the first winter actually spent there proved so severe that many of his people, accustomed to the milder climate of France, died miserably. The disease "scurvy," which arises from lack of green or vegetable food, was specially severe among them. At length the Indians, pitying them, showed them how to make a medicine from some tree bark. This, Cartier says, saved the remnant of them, almost magically, though they were at the very point of death.

Cartier returned to France. More men were sent out as colonists. Their sufferings were cruel, but their captains

made every effort to keep them submissively at their work. They were punished by floggings and by hangings. At last even the leaders of the miserable colony could endure no more, and it was abandoned in despair (1542). This was the first of several unsuccessful French efforts to colonize by despotic command.

John Verrazano

Jacques Cartier

7. RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION URGED THE FRENCH TO AMERICA

Two more promising colonies were soon afterward attempted within what is now the United States. They were notable because they were the first American result of the religious wars which had now begun desolating Europe. In France those who revolted against the Roman Catholic church were called Huguenots (hū′gă nŏts). Sometimes the Huguenots were at war with their Catholic fellow-countrymen, and sometimes at peace; but always there was trouble for Huguenots in France.

The story of that century in Europe is sad and terrible indeed. Battle and massacre, burnings and hangings,

were carried on by Christians on either side in the name of Christ. Hence, there arose for the first time a new reason for colonization, a new impulse to drive men to far shores, the desire to escape religious persecution.

The first attempts at Huguenot colonization were made, however, in a time of peace at home and under the direct approval of the French king. Jean Ribaut (zhŏn rē bō′), a noted French privateer, was the chief figure in these attempts.

8. THE HUGUENOTS DEFIED SPAIN BY SETTLING IN CAROLINA

In 1562 Ribaut landed thirty Huguenot colonists at Port Royal in what is now South Carolina. This settlement was definitely within the region claimed by Spain, and the attempt was practically an act of war, or at least of defiance. France was in fact preparing for a new attack on Spain.

The colonists felt themselves really soldiers. They built palisades instead of planting crops. Soon they were as near starvation as Cartier's followers had been. They kept themselves alive only by begging corn from the friendly Indians.

Finally, in desperation, the colonists built themselves a rude ship in which they attempted to sail home. Starvation drove them to the horror of eating one another. Their clumsy bark was sinking at sea when, at this last moment, they were rescued by an English ship.

9. RIBAUT PLANTED A HUGUENOT COLONY IN FLORIDA

Two years later Ribaut tried again with a far larger following, which this time included women and children. He selected for his settlement the mouth of the St. Johns river in Florida. There he built a fort, and left his colonists as before.

The Spanish king, the sternly fanatic Philip II, learning of this seizure of his territory, hurried forward the powerful expedition of Menendez (mā nān′ dāth). Of this, we have already read as founding St. Augustine (1565). Royal warships and soldiers were added to Menendez' own colonizing force, and he sailed under strict orders to destroy the Huguenot colony. Some of its men had already begun raiding the Spanish islands.

To the Spaniards, who were intensely Catholic, Ribaut's settlement was a double defiance both of their country and of their religion. They had made special laws to bar all "heretics" from entering their American lands.

10. THE SPANIARDS DESTROYED RIBAUT'S COLONY

Just as Menendez reached Florida, Ribaut also arrived there, returning to his colony with a powerful French fleet. Both sides prepared for battle. The Spaniards sheltered themselves at St. Augustine. Ribaut led his fleet to attack it. A sudden hurricane scattered and wrecked the French ships; and the Spaniards hailed this as the direct protection of Providence.

While the great storm still raged, Menendez and a company of his soldiers struggled secretly northward against its fury, and suddenly in the midst of the tempest attacked the French settlement. The remnant of Ribaut's forces which had been left here on guard was surprised and easily overcome. Every male prisoner was hanged, and the bodies were left with a notice beside them that they had been slain "Not as Frenchmen but as heretics."

Then Menendez returned in triumph to St. Augustine; and when the wretched survivors of Ribaut's wrecked fleet were found there upon the beach, they also were slain. Only at the last did the stern Spaniard's fierceness fail

him. He spared some few of the last men along with the women and children.

Of the killing of Ribaut, the noted privateer, Menendez reported that he was sure King Philip would find this their chief good fortune, as Ribaut was "the most expert known sailor and corsair." The Spanish king promptly approved Menendez' slaughter of the captured "heretics," criticized him only for sparing the survivors, and condemned these to become "galley slaves."

II. A FRENCH CATHOLIC RETALIATED ON THE SPANIARDS

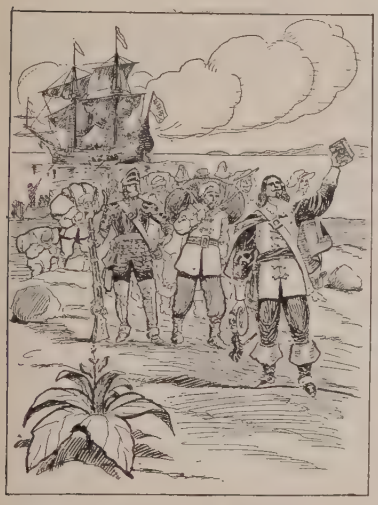
The French king protested, but did nothing in the way of avenging his "heretic" subjects. A French Catholic leader, De Gourgues (goorg) has left a record telling how he determined to take vengeance in his own hands. He sailed to the Spanish colonies on what was outwardly a trading expedition; but after leaving the West Indies, he sailed secretly to the St. Johns river. Here he stormed the forts, which were now in Spanish hands. He hanged his captives on the very trees where they had hanged the Huguenots; and he paralleled Menendez' former notice with one saying that he had dealt with his victims "Not as Spaniards, but as assassins."

Of this fierce revenge there is no Spanish record; it rests wholly on De Gourgues' word. The entire story, however, is typical of the terrible religious fury of the age. It ended the effort of the French to colonize the southern Atlantic coast, where they had to dispute possession with the Spaniards.

Thereafter they centered their colonization on the St. Lawrence valley. This, Spain never disputed with them, though England did so in a later age.

12. FRANCE STARTED ITS AUTOCRATIC EMPIRE OVER CANADA

The man who won fame by successfully colonizing the St. Lawrence valley was **Samuel de Champlain** (shăm plān′) known as "the Father of New France." His story belongs to the new century which opened beyond 1600. By this time the religious strife within France it-



First Landing of the French Huguenots in Carolina

The Massacre of Lachine

self had ended. Freedom of belief had been granted to the Huguenots. Not until almost a century later were they again bitterly oppressed.

For a time, France, having peace within, rose to the height of her power. She was led first by the able King Henry IV, then by the great churchman, Cardinal Richelieu, and then by the "Grand Monarch," Louis XIV. These rulers planned to make this whole northern region an empire

like that of Spain in the South. Henry IV, who had been a Huguenot in his early days, wished to have both religious parties aid in its upbuilding; but under Richelieu and Louis XIV this "New France" was kept as carefully Catholic as "New Spain."

As the vast size of the interior of North America slowly revealed itself before the French explorers, so grew the French kings' dreams of the coming splendor of their empire. Unfortunately, however, they saw this empire only in the Spanish way, as a region inhabited by serfs, toiling in blind obedience to whatever deputies were set over them by the King.

13. THE FIRST COLONIES ON THE ATLANTIC WERE FAILURES

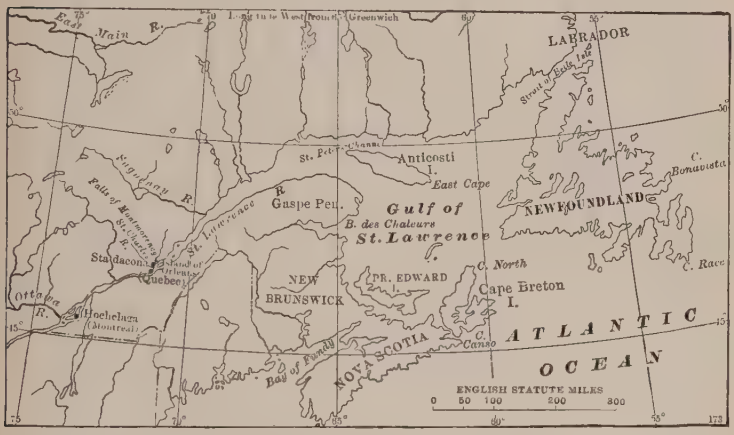
Serfs can not be driven to do much bold adventuring or much firm fighting against the hardships of the wilderness. Several French attempts at colonization failed miserably.

One effort was made with prisoners who were released from jail on their consenting to become colonists. Forty of these were accidentally left on Sable Island, off Nova Scotia, an almost barren sand bar of endless fogs and snow. Their ship commander was driven off the coast by storm. He returned to France and was there imprisoned on another matter. The colonists seem to have been completely forgotten (1598).

Five years later, twelve survivors of the forty were found almost as accidentally as they had been dropped. Their meager supplies of food and clothing had long been exhausted; and they had lived as wild beasts, protecting themselves as best they might against all the rigors of the northern winter. That was what colonization might become under a careless autocratic government.

14. ENGLAND OPPOSED FRANCE ALONG THE ATLANTIC

Another colony was planted in almost equally haphazard fashion at St. Croix Island on the border of Maine in 1605. Half of its members perished the first winter; and the survivors, moved to a more sheltered spot in Nova Scotia. There they founded the town of Port Royal.



Where France Planted Her Colonies

The English claimed ownership of all this coast. When they settled Virginia, one of their traders learned that the French were in Nova Scotia. So a ship was sent from Virginia to drive them out. Port Royal was destroyed, but most of the colonists escaped into the wilderness. Returning after the departure of the English, the survivors reestablished themselves at Annapolis, the oldest permanent settlement of Nova Scotia.

This region remained long in dispute between the two nations.

15. CHAMPLAIN COLONIZED THE ST. LAWRENCE VALLEY

Meanwhile Samuel de Champlain had taken considerable part in some of these poorly handled colonizations. He had studied the causes of their failure. Now, he secured an appointment as governor of this "New France" which as yet could scarcely be said to exist. Selecting the St. Lawrence valley as the most sheltered and safest part of his unknown empire, he promptly began there the establishing of his "capital," Quebec (1608).

He had first to face winter and scurvy, as Cartier had done; and there was now no wise Indian to teach Champlain the native remedy against scurvy. Only eight of the twenty-eight colonists survived that first awful winter at Quebec. The heroic Champlain was among those who escaped.

Undaunted by this latest hideous experience, Champlain resolutely held his survivors together by his authority as the representative of his king. He welcomed the newcomers of the next spring as majestically as if to a well-established colony. He asserted his right to control and command his own people; and he also endeavored to protect the Indian tribes around him.

16. THE IROQUOIS WERE THE CHIEF INDIANS OF THE NORTH

Unfortunately for France, Champlain acted somewhat blindly in this Indian matter. The Indians he found along the St. Lawrence were not those Cartier had found, but of far lower type. War and famine had made grim changes. Cartier had noted quite a fair civilization at Hochelaga, a former Indian metropolis; but Hochelaga had been destroyed.

The first Indians met by Champlain were the Algonquins

(ăl gŏn′ kĭns), a widespread but not united people. Their enemies were the powerful Iroquois (ĭr ō kwoy′), famous through all later colonial history.

A Drawing from Champlain's Own Narrative, Showing His First Shot Against the Iroquois

These Iroquois were newcomers in the St. Lawrence valley. Where they had dwelt originally, we are not sure; perhaps they had been pressed northward by the early Spanish advance. At all events they had now established themselves in northern New York; and being far abler and fiercer than any of their neighbors, the Iroquois were rapidly building up an "Indian empire." They subdued or exterminated each tribe that dared oppose them.

17. CHAMPLAIN BEGAN AGAINST THEM A LASTING WAR

Ignorant of the Iroquois power, Champlain blindly took sides in a quarrel of which he knew nothing. He was overconfident because of his guns and iron armor and the supposed superiority of the European mind. He promised the frightened Algonquins and their allies, the Hurons, to pro-

tect them against their foe. He then went with them on an expedition which was to protect by attacking.

Thus, in 1609, Champlain with two white comrades was led by the Hurons to the lake which still bears his name, and on its shore he met the Iroquois. When the three Frenchmen fired their guns, some Iroquois were slain, and the rest retreated. The triumphant Hurons followed in pursuit. But the Iroquois soon rallied; they soon learned to evade the deadly gunfire; and they became for many years the most powerful enemies of the French.

For half a century, the Iroquois opposition was the chief obstacle which prevented France from establishing over the Indians of the north some such empire as Spain had established in the south.

18. CANADA GREW RICH THROUGH THE FUR TRADE

There were no riches of gold and silver mines to lure adventurous Frenchmen to crowd into this northern world, as the Spaniards had crowded into the south a century before. The natural valor and energy of all the abler Frenchmen who did come, found outlet in another way.

The chief wealth of the St. Lawrence region proved to be its furs. These the Indians gladly traded to the French for a few beads, or a steel knife or a woolen blanket. In Europe the furs sold at an enormous advance in price, often thirty times the cost of gathering them.

Soon French *coureurs de bois* (runners of the woods) began going out with the Indians to catch the fur animals for themselves, or to establish trading-posts deep in the wilderness, and so reach other Indians. Often these coureurs de bois adopted the entire life of the savages and quite lost touch with civilization.

Champlain Discovering Lake Champlain
A painting by Haskell Coffin, loaned by the N. N. Y. Telephone Co. of Plattsburg

19. CHAMPLAIN CARRIED TRADE AND WARFARE INTO THE WEST

Champlain himself made many a journey through the woods. In 1615 he reached the "Great Lakes." He came first to Lake Huron, by following his Huron allies up the Ottawa River and so by a portage down what is still called French River. Next he explored Lake Ontario, and unsuccessfully attacked the Iroquois in their strong New York fortress at Onondaga.

Champlain's own writings tell vividly the details of his attack on this remarkable fortress which was surrounded by a series of galleries and palisades. The Iroquois fought desperately. Champlain was at length badly wounded and was carried off by his Huron allies. They thus first learned that he was not unconquerable. In their sullen terror they almost left him to die. But his bold spirit mastered them, as he mastered every other difficulty of the wilderness.

Champlain was not only the founder and first governor of New France, he was the mainstay of all the lesser Indians in their resistance to the Iroquois. In his later years he and the Iroquois were clearly seen as rival contenders for the empire of the North.

Before his death (1635) the French fur seekers had not only explored northern New York and New England but had journeyed far into the middle west. Jean Nicolet explored Lake Michigan and was the first white trader to reach Wisconsin's shore (1634). Everywhere the French were welcomed as protectors against the Iroquois.

20. MISSIONARIES TAUGHT THE INDIANS AND WERE SLAIN

Side by side with the fur traders' advance went that of the missionaries. When Champlain in 1615 made his first trip to the "Lake of the Hurons," there went with him

the missionary, Father Le Caron (lĕ kă rŏn′), first of a long line of eager, earnest, heroic Catholic priests to penetrate the wilderness. Indeed Le Caron was so resolute that when Champlain was delayed, the priest went ahead alone with their Huron friends and so was really the first of white men to reach the "Great Lakes."

On Lake Huron the Indians built for Le Caron a little hut, the first "mission station" of the French. Champlain found and embraced Le Caron there, and left him to his peaceful labors, while the "Governor of New France" went on to aid the Hurons in their fighting.

As years passed, a series of mission stations spread over all the lands of the Hurons. Not always, however, did these Indians take so kindly to missionary efforts. All savage peoples are superstitious; and the Indians looked on the priests as sorcerers. Often indeed the suspicious redmen would have slain the "black robes," had they dared. The first recorded martyr to their sudden rages was Father Viel. He was drowned by them in the St. Lawrence rapids in 1626.

In 1625 there came out to New France the first of the Jesuit missionaries, those most impassioned of all Catholic "soldiers of the cross." Not content with preaching to such Indians as had vowed obedience to France, the Jesuits soon began to carry their preaching to opposing tribes, and at length to the Iroquois themselves. Then indeed began the days of martyrdom.

21. FATHER JOGUES SHOWED SPECIAL HEROISM AS A MARTYR

The first "apostle to the Iroquois," the Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues (zhōg), came among them by accident. He was captured by them with two white attendants while travelling with some Hurons (1645). Father Jogues

might have escaped, but deliberately gave himself up when he saw one of his attendants captured.

He was savagely tortured by the Iroquois. They aimed not to kill him but to keep him always for further agonies, taking him as a show to be tortured in each of their villages. He was thus dragged down Lake Champlain and Lake George into the Mohawk river valley. One of his attendants died under these sufferings; the other was adopted by the Indians because of his courage and endurance. Father Jogues used the intervals of his long agony to preach his doctrines and show his loving care to the astounded Indians.

After months of torture, he escaped to the Dutch who were colonizing what is now New York. He was hidden and rescued by a Dutch Protestant clergyman, a true brother of the faith. Father Jogues, as soon as his recovered strength permitted, went back voluntarily to the Iroquois.

Awed by a heroism so far beyond their own imagining, the savage warriors let him live quietly among them. They even listened for a time to his teachings. A few months later, in a sudden mood of suspicion, they slew him. He is the most famed of these priestly martyrs.

22. CANADA SURVIVED ONLY AS A CRUSADE

By this time the Iroquois were at the height of their fierce power. Their Dutch friends in New York supplied them with firearms, and they learned to use these well. New France could scarcely hold her own against such deadly foes.

In 1649 the Iroquois secretly invaded the Lake Huron region, and fell suddenly upon its villages in a tremendous

massacre. This ended the existence of the Hurons as a nation. All the French mission stations in the Huron region were wiped out. The Jesuit martyrdoms there were tragic and terrible.

New France now seemed on the verge of perishing. The Iroquois openly boasted that they would sweep the French into the sea. The colony assumed much of the spirit of a crusade. Men came out from France to seek a religious end in some glorious fight against these heathen.

Father Jogues

Chevalier De La Salle

23. MONTREAL WAS THE BULWARK OF THIS RELIGIOUS ECSTASY

Montreal was the chief settlement founded in this martyr spirit (1642). Planted far up the river, in the midst of Indian lands, it stood proudly as an outpost or bulwark of Quebec. Single Iroquois warriors were always creeping into it by night, lying in wait with their tomahawks for the chance of an unbarred door or a careless

passerby. Life there was a constant warfare, and the religious spirit grew intense.

The settlers thought of the Iroquois as actual demons, sent forth from hell to block the spread of Christianity through this dark heathen land. Priests, nuns and laymen wrote constantly to France of holy visions or of miracles which aided them to spread the faith. The mere continued existence of Montreal against its Indian foes was surprising enough to be regarded as a miracle.

Among the leaders of this heroic outpost was Jeanne Mance. She was a deeply religious woman who came to Canada to "serve the Faith" in whatever way she could. She gathered money to build a hospital but spent most of it hiring soldiers for Montreal's "holy war." Her hospital though tiny was the first in Canada. After aiding as a nurse at Montreal she was appointed to select and protect women sent out as wives for the settlers. In her work "Mother Jeanne" crossed the ocean repeatedly, a wise, great-hearted woman, one of the best known figures of Canada's early days.

24. DOLLARD BROKE THE HEAVIEST IROQUOIS ASSAULT

In 1660 the failure of all this effort seemed at hand. The entire colony contained little more than two thousand people. Faint hearts had fled back to France. The Iroquois vowed to finish their work against the whites as they had against the Hurons. A force of a thousand fierce warriors started down the St. Lawrence valley. Other war parties came gathering to them from every side.

Their advance was stopped by a most gallant deed. A young noble at Montreal, known as Dollard, vowed himself to a death which should terrify the Indians. With him sixteen other youths of Montreal pledged themselves

to go forth against the foe. They were blessed by the priests and bidden farewell as men who go to die. Deliberately they threw themselves into the path of the Iroquois, scarce bothering even to build defenses, but taking shelter at need in an old abandoned palisade at the western end of the island of Montreal.

Here the advancing Iroquois army attacked them, expecting an easy prey. Dollard and his comrades were aided by some Hurons and Algonquins, but only four chiefs of these stayed with them to the end. For over a week this little band of twenty-one held back the Iroquois; and when at last the heroes were all slain, hundreds of the Iroquois had fallen.

The "will to fight" of the remaining Iroquois was so shaken that their entire army retreated. They wanted no more combats with such foemen when sheltered by Montreal and the towns beyond. Dollard had saved New France.

25. KING LOUIS SENT SOLDIERS AND CREATED LORDSHIPS

In 1665 there came the turning point. King Louis XIV was roused to active interest in the heroic colony and resolved to save it by a giant effort. He sent out an entire royal regiment, twelve hundred soldiers, to dwell in New France permanently and protect it from the Iroquois.

The regiment was employed in a brief military campaign. This was not very vigorous, but its stately parade awed the Iroquois into temporary peace.

After that, the lands of the enlarged colony were distributed in *seigneuries*. That is, each officer of the new regiment, as also any other personage having any claim to nobility, was granted a wide-spreading estate which he settled with his soldiers or such other folk as he could gather. Over these he became the lord or *seigneur*. Wives

for these peasant soldiers were also sent out under the command of some pious ladies of the upper classes. Thus was the old aristocratic system of France transferred to America.

26. FRONTENAC WON THE INDIANS AND SAVED THE COLONY

The Iroquois were still further restrained by the coming of the greatest of the French governors, Louis Count Frontenac (frŏnt nahk'). Arriving in 1672 Frontenac soon asserted himself as the foremost man of New France. In Quebec he tyrannized over his people in true royal style; but to the Indians he proved a wise and kindly lord.

In dealing with the Iroquois he was as shrewd as he was resolute. Though sprung from the most cultured nobility of France, he fraternized with the wild redmen, adopted their children to be educated, and even danced their war-dances. They learned to trust him as they trusted no other Frenchman, and at the same time to fear him as they had feared no one since Champlain.

27. BUT ALL SELF-GOVERNMENT WAS CRUSHED BY KING LOUIS

Almost the first act of Frontenac was to summon a gathering of the colonists to aid him in the government. Recognizing the splendid energy and initiative which many of them had shown, he counted on their powers of self-government. As a beginning he ordered them to elect from among themselves some aldermen and a head-alderman or mayor for Quebec. This might well have marked the opening of democracy in New France.

The movement was, however, immediately checked by King Louis. He reprimanded Frontenac sharply for thus encouraging his people to act for themselves, and warned him that they must not be called together again. Louis

declared that all authority must center in the king's officials, his deputies. They were to lead, and the people to follow.

28. LACHINE SUFFERED THE WORST OF INDIAN MASSACRES

Frontenac was governor of New France for ten years; and the colony had peace and prospered. Then in 1682 he was removed from office by court intrigues in France. Again incompetent rulers plunged the colony into misery and Iroquois warfare. France was also plunged into the long wars with England and the English colonies, of which we shall read later on.

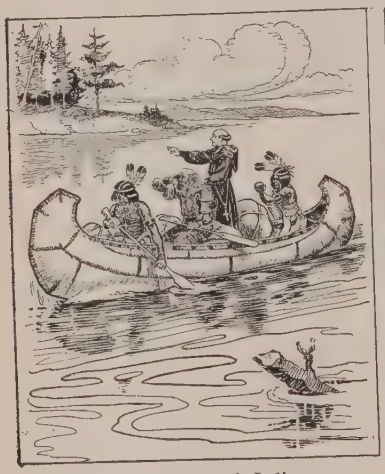
The Iroquois joined the English; and in 1689 New France suffered the most terrible Indian massacre in all its blood-stained record. The town of Lachine (lă shēn′) stood above Montreal at the rapids which had blocked Cartier's first exploration. This town was suddenly stormed by the Iroquois, and nearly a thousand people were slain. The authorities seemed paralyzed with fright. No soldiers were sent against the Indians. They withdrew at leisure, torturing and burning hundreds of their victims under the eyes of the helpless colonists shut up in Montreal.

Most unwillingly King Louis restored Frontenac to power, sending him out to New France as the one man who could "save the empire." The aged governor, now seventy years old, again ruled successfully from 1689 to his death in 1698.

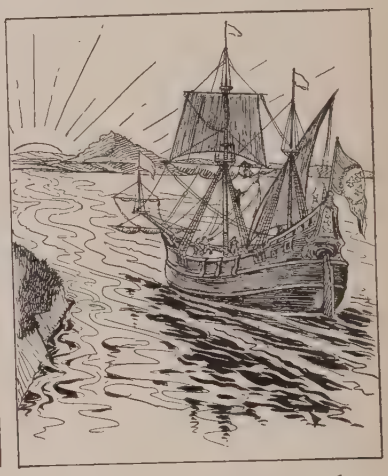
29. WESTWARD EXPLORATION LED TO THE MISSISSIPPI

During Frontenac's day came the further great extension of New France westward and southward to include the entire Mississippi valley. This was largely the work of that remarkable hero Robert de La Salle (lă sahl′).

Rumors of a "great water" larger even than the St. Lawrence had long reached the Frenchmen through their Indian friends. Probably the first Frenchmen actually to reach the Mississippi were the missionary Father Marquette (mär kĕt′) and the fur-trader Joliet (zhō lyā′).



Marquette and Joliet
Explore the Mississippi



The Griffon Sails Westward
on the Great Lakes

These two in 1673 paddled a canoe down the river from Wisconsin to Arkansas and all the long way up again. They landed so frequently along the route that they must have touched the shore of every State that now borders the upper Mississippi. This central region had not been visited by white men since De Soto had crossed the great river over a century before.

Marquette established a mission among the Indians of Illinois, and died there two years later. He was buried by his Indians with loving care. Joliet meanwhile returned to Quebec with the news of the great river which led southward to the Gulf of the Spaniards.

30. LA SALLE DEFIED SPAIN AND EXTENDED FRENCH RULE

La Salle resolved to make it his life work to secure the whole vast Mississippi for France. This might lead to a conflict with Spain; but Spain had grown so weak that France no longer dreaded her. She was not at all the Spain of a century before, which had crushed Ribaut's Huguenot

The Burial of Father Marquette

colony. Her power had been exhausted by European wars.

La Salle was an aristocratic young adventurer led to the new land by the desire to achieve some mighty feat. Here was his opportunity. Few men have ever displayed such persistency, strength and endurance; but unfortunately he added to these the autocratic temper of his class. He drove his subordinates by fear; they hated him always, endured his haughty commands only because they must, and in the end seized an opportunity to slay him.

La Salle had come to New France as a youth in 1666. He was one of the first of the new *seigneurs,* and he started

that seigneurie of Lachine where the great massacre afterward occurred. La Salle, however, early turned from the slow toil of his seigneurie to become a fur-trader. He was probably the first of these adventurers to reach the Ohio valley (1669).

31. LA SALLE AND TONTI MASTERED THE WILDERNESS

In 1673 Count Frontenac set La Salle to building Fort Frontenac at the mouth of Lake Ontario to control both the Iroquois and the fur trade. Here it was that La Salle conceived his dream of empire. He would build a chain of forts stretching through the entire heart of the continent and down the valley Marquette had found.

Returning to France for royal sanction and support, he secured both and also the service of his almost equally noted lieutenant, Henry de Tonti. Tonti was an Italian adventurer, later to be known by all the Indians of the West as "the iron hand." Having lost a hand in battle, Tonti wore a metal one which he kept always covered by a glove. With this hand he could do deeds that seemed to the Indians miraculous.

In 1679, La Salle started his great enterprise by carrying the French arms onward from Fort Frontenac to the upper end of Lake Ontario. Here, close to the great falls, he erected Fort Niagara, the first French military settlement within the present United States. At Niagara with Tonti's help he built a fair sized vessel, the Griffon, and launched it on Lake Erie, the first ship to sail the Great Lakes.

The Griffon caused wild excitement among the Indians as it cruised from lake to lake purchasing their furs. They looked on the ship as a living monster. From the southern end of Lake Michigan, La Salle sent the Griffon home with part of his followers and a fortune in rich furs; but

the Griffon disappeared. Wrecked, plundered, or abandoned, she was never heard of again. So La Salle's first fortune was lost.

A French Contemporary Print of the Building of the Griffon

32. LA SALLE WON THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FOR FRANCE

Meanwhile, intent always on reaching the Mississippi, La Salle with the remainder of his men had penetrated the little known region of the Illinois Indians. There, on the Illinois River, he built another fort (1680). This, from his many failures, he called Crevecœur (Heart-break).

When the Griffon also failed him, he started back alone for the settlements to get fresh supplies. He made the most remarkable journey of its kind for speed and for endurance.

During his absence the Iroquois, ever extending their

power into the west, attacked and almost exterminated the Illinois Indians. La Salle's men were compelled to flee; and when, with fresh supplies, he regained Fort Crevecœur, he found it abandoned. On top of all this, came other misfortunes, and at length his friend and supporter, Frontenac, was recalled to France.

Yet La Salle persisted. In 1682 he led a successful expedition to the Mississippi and down the great river's entire course to its mouth. There with solemn ceremony he raised his flag and erected a pillar, claiming for France all this mighty central valley of our country.

33. HE LED A COLONY TO THE GULF OF MEXICO

Still intent upon his great design, La Salle now hurried back to France itself. In the court of the mighty Louis XIV, he told what he had done and what he planned to do. France was fired with his own enthusiasm. Spain was to be defied. This warm southern region was to be colonized by shiploads of settlers direct from France. Her empire was to be doubled. Instead of controlling the one great river valley of America, she would control the two.

The new region was named Louisiana in honor of the king. La Salle was appointed its governor; and in 1684 he sailed with a fleet of four ships to start his colony at the mouth of the Mississippi.

34. THE EXPLORATION FAILED AND LA SALLE PERISHED

The expedition met disaster. The waters of the Gulf of Mexico were unknown to Frenchmen. Lost amid its sandbars and bayous, they failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi; and they landed at last at Matagorda Bay (1685) upon the Texas coast. La Salle, indomitable as ever, began building a fort; but the captain of the ships insisted on returning to France with his vessels and most

of the colonists. La Salle remained at Matagorda and led repeated explorations to find his river. The sufferings of his followers were terrible. They died miserably, until of 180 only 45 were left.

Meanwhile Tonti, coming down the Mississippi to meet his chief, had built a fort near the mouth of the Arkansas (Fort St. Louis, 1686) and was searching for the new colony. La Salle, learning of this, led one last party northward through the Texas lowlands; but some vengeful followers had plotted his death, and they shot him in the back (1687). Some of his loyal supporters reached the Arkansas fort and told his story.

As for King Louis, disgusted by the failure of his plans and involved now in a great war with England and Holland, he did not even send another ship to rescue La Salle's colonists. In 1689 the Spaniards searched for the colony to wipe it out, but found their work already done. Indians apparently had attacked the fort, and only a few burned bodies lay among its charred ruins.

35. LOUISIANA WAS SETTLED BY THE LE MOYNE BROTHERS

Yet La Salle's great purpose lived beyond him. His work was carried on by Pierre d'Iberville, the foremost French naval officer of his day.

Iberville was one of ten gallant brothers of the Le Moyne family, all born in Canada, the first American Frenchmen to become famous in their country's service. Iberville repeatedly defeated British foes on land and at sea; and was at length commissioned by King Louis to re-establish Louisiana. He settled Biloxi (1699) on the coast of Mississippi, reoccupied Tonti's old fort, and drove both Spaniards and English from the region. Dying, he bequeathed his mission to a younger brother.

This brother, Jean de Bienville (byă vēl′), became acting governor of Louisiana in 1701 when only twenty-one years old. He was the leading adventurer and leading organizer of the colony for forty years. Under him Mobile was founded in 1702. In 1718 a more sheltered site was selected, and the city of New Orleans built to be the capital of the entire region.

36. LA SALLE'S DREAM OF EMPIRE BECAME A FACT

Settlements began to spread up the river. The fertile plains abandoned by the Illinois Indians in their flight from the Iroquois proved particularly attractive. By 1720 this very heart of the continent, the plains of southern Illinois, held almost a thousand French settlers. They were grouped mainly around Forts Kaskaskia and Cahokia, a center from which they communicated with both New Orleans and Quebec. La Salle's dream of a line of forts from one river-mouth to the other was thus turned to reality within fifty years.

This fertile Illinois farmland became the granary which supplied food to military Louisiana as well as to fur-trading Canada. France now occupied and controlled the Mississippi valley as wholly as she had long held the valley of the St. Lawrence.

Thus in the course of a single century France had established for herself an American empire rivalling that of Spain, at least in size. France, however, never conquered and ruled over her Indians as did Spain. Her empire remained a wilderness.

37. FRANCE NEVER MASTERED HER INDIANS AS SPAIN DID

The Frenchmen in America were never numerous, and while the scattered Indians of the north were few as con-

trasted with the millions encountered by Spain, the northern Indians were fierce and desperate fighters. Moreover they were wanderers, not town dwellers. They built bark huts instead of stone "castles" like those of the southern Indians. Hence they could neither be caught, nor ruled, nor subdued. Their Christianity, despite all the missionary work, was of the vaguest. It did not prevent their torturing and devouring their enemies.

Among these fierce red men the few Frenchmen moved rather as brilliant comrades than as masters. The fur trade, the one northern source of wealth, dominated the life of the Quebec colony. The more timid of the French immigrants remained on the St. Lawrence as peasants under their seigneurs. The bolder spirits became *coureurs de bois,* journeying among the Indians and imitating their customs, too often descending to their level rather than helping them toward civilization.

Thus the impress made by France on all this region was never a profound one. Today its effects are clearly seen in the life and spirit of New Orleans and of the lower St. Lawrence; but beyond that, the French occupation has left few traces—except in our people themselves.

The French folk of the west were later drawn into our history far more than the Spaniards from the south. The descendants of the lords of New Orleans and of the farmers of the Mississippi, as well as of many a French wanderer in the far northwest, were to become citizens of the United States, and the ancestors of some of our citizens of today. The spirit of these, the most venturesome children of France, has thus its part in our American race. The story of New France is a chapter of our own story. There are many parts of that chapter in which we may well find inspiration.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA

How the English "Sea-dogs" broke the Power of Spain

(1558–1607)

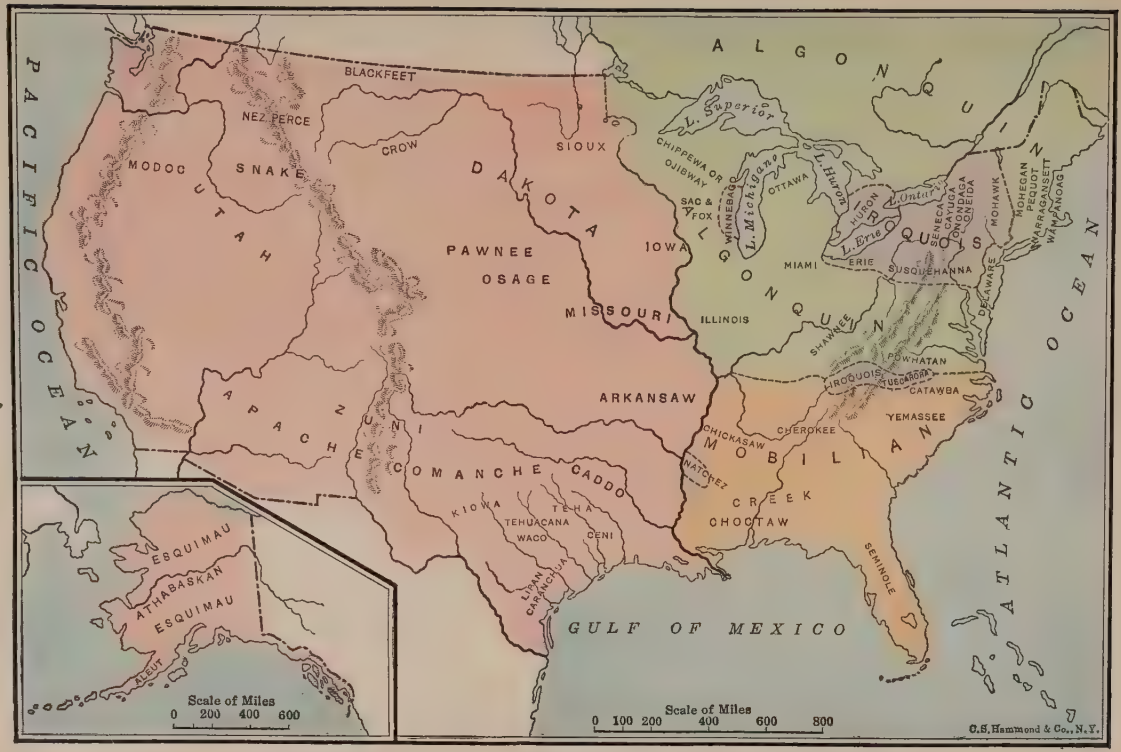
I. ENGLAND'S COLONIES WERE BEGUN BY HER PEOPLE

We come now to that part of our story which touches us most closely, the founding of our own nation. Between the empire of Spain in the south and the empire of France in the north, there sprang up thirteen separate little English colonies. The thirteen afterward joined together, and thus formed the basis for our united nation of today.

The thirteen colonies of England differed widely from the American empires of France and Spain. Those empires were built up by royal command. Each was a unit from the start, and its every law was dictated by a distant, often careless, royal court.

The English colonies on the other hand, were mainly begun by "merchant companies." These were collections of practical men who for both personal and patriotic reasons were eager to erect a new England in America. Thus every step of colonizing was studied with commercial shrewdness by men actively interested in its success.

The leaders of the little settlements were not royal officials, expecting to return home and receive rewards there for work done here. Their reward must come from America itself. Even the earliest of the English colonists had many of them broken with their old homes deliberately



Indian Tribes and Chief Families of the United States

and forever, a terrifying step for a people and an age unused to change. Yet most of these bold pioneers, women as well as men, came here of their own will. They chose the hard life of the wilderness rather than that to which fate had condemned them in autocratic Europe.

2. THE ENGLISH LEARNED SELF-HELP AND SELF-DEPENDENCE

The English of that day were far more free than other Europeans in acting for themselves. In their own land they talked much of the "rights of Englishmen," though with no very exact idea of all that those rights included. Hence their colonists brought here a strong sense of self-dependence. They expected to take care of themselves and to govern themselves.

The eternal pride of independence exists in all mankind. It had grown strong under English feudalism. In America it grew into a demand for that equality of opportunity which makes democracy. The first colonists still bowed to leaders of autocratic rank; yet the advance toward the legal equality of all ranks was more rapid here than anywhere else in the world. Our colonists were the earliest of all people to learn how to organize a strong and widespread government *by* the people and *for* the people.

Whatever control reached these American Englishmen from their far-off kings was usually antagonistic. It aimed to seize their increasing wealth for the good of the British Empire as a whole, or to check their increasing independence of action. In a famous speech just before the American Revolution, Colonel Barré, an Irish member speaking in the British Parliament, declared that not the care but the oppression of the British Government had started the American colonies, and that they had grown strong through the Government's neglect.

3. ENGLAND UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH DEFIED SPAIN'S POWER

England did not turn her attention to America so early as did either France or Spain. She was too deeply involved in wars and religious disputes at home. At length, from amid the turmoil of Europe's great religious upheaval, there arose in England the strong government of Queen Elizabeth.

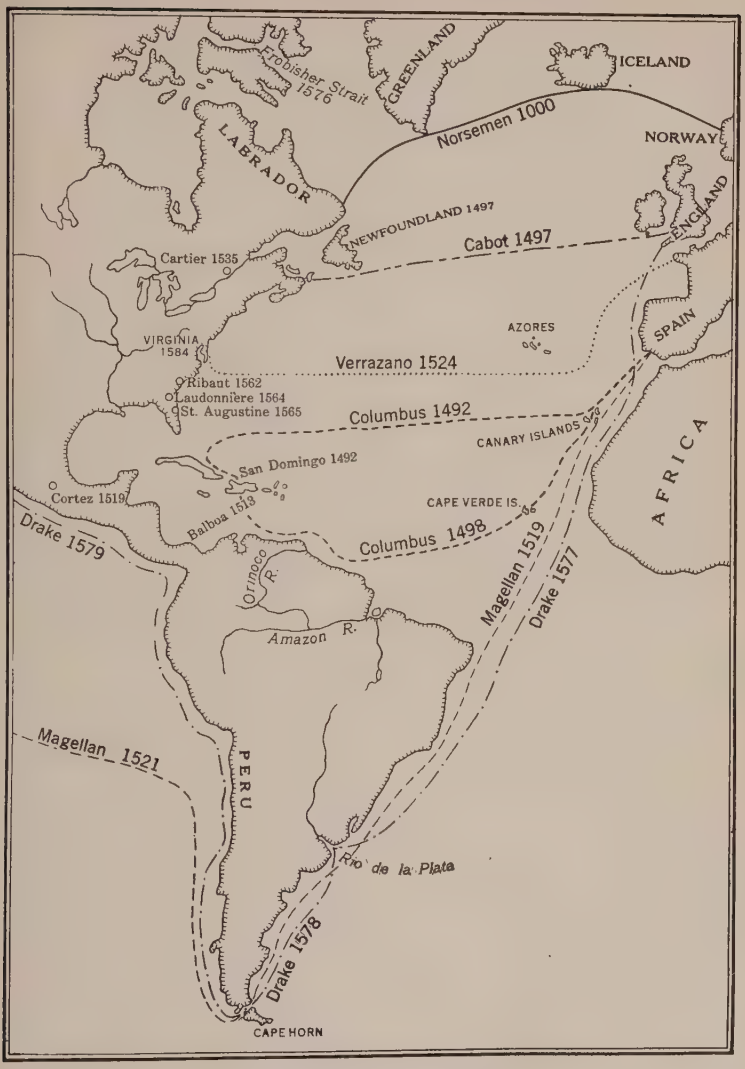
During Elizabeth's long and brilliant reign (1558-1603), England became the champion of the Protestant cause in Europe. Spain under Philip II was the champion of Catholicism. The two countries were always openly or secretly at war. Englishmen learned to regard Spaniards as their national enemies, to be fought wherever met. The power of Spain depended largely on the wealth she constantly drew from America. So England's thought turned to America as the land wherein Spain's strength might best be broken.

England's purpose was not, at first, to colonize America. Spain had grimly destroyed the French Huguenot colonies here, and had thus given warning to all the world of how savagely she would defend her claim upon America, the western world. So England sent her boldest sailors to Spanish America to plunder and destroy, not to create a new civilization.

4. ENGLAND BRED A RACE OF INDEPENDENT SEA-FIGHTERS

These daring English sailors took up the work of the earlier French "privateers." They attacked the Spanish treasure ships which bore to Europe the gold and silver of America. They even attacked the Spanish ports along the coasts of tropical America, where the gathered treasure lay waiting for the ships.

England rang with the bold deeds of her wild "sea-dogs."



The Early Discoveries

The important voyages and those on which national claims to territory were based

These, we must note, had to act on their own responsibility. When there was no open war with Spain, Queen Elizabeth could give no definite orders to attack; she could only bid her captains act as they saw fit for the glory and defense of England. Thus again they were compelled to think and plan as their own masters. The sturdy self-reliance of the English had been born long before. It grew to its full strength and manhood under Elizabeth.

The queen, more shrewd and able than any man-monarch of her day, encouraged the reckless daring of her subjects. She sought to be both queen and woman. Her captains courted her while they obeyed her. She became the symbol and the standard of each man's patriotism.

On land and sea they fought for England, for Protestantism, and for their own desires. Each man was a king!

5. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE WAS THE GREATEST OF THESE SAILORS

Most famous among the daring sea-fighters of Elizabeth's day was Sir Francis Drake. The tale of his bold deeds against the Spaniards makes exciting reading, even after all the years that have since passed. He raided the Spanish cities in America and captured the Spanish galleons.

Once (1572) Drake left England with two tiny ships and seventy-three men. A year later he returned with only thirty men remaining, but with two Spanish frigates loaded to the full with gold and silver and chests of jewels. He had captured two treasure caravans from the mines, besides storming two cities and seizing the ships on which he voyaged home. That particular one of Drake's trips has been made the basis of a noted story, Kingsley's "Westward Ho!"

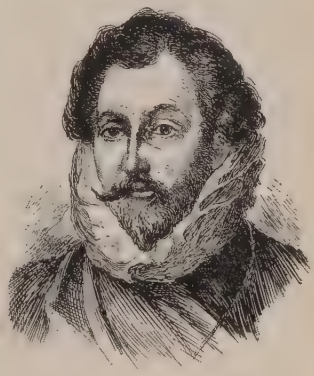
The Spaniards, playing on Drake's name, called him the

"firedrake" or dragon. Such was their fear of him that a Spanish court lady declined the invitation of King Philip to sail on his inland private lake, because she feared the "dragon" might somehow catch them even there.

6. DRAKE SAILED ROUND THE WORLD

In 1577-1580 Drake sailed around the world, the first successor of Magellan after sixty years. Spain's main center of American wealth was along the Pacific coast of

Queen Elizabeth



Sir Francis Drake

South America. So Drake resolved to strike a blow for England there. Securing secret orders from Elizabeth, he sailed through the Straits of Magellan and up the Pacific coast. The Spaniards had never dreamt to see an enemy ship in this far off "South Sea" of their own. They were wholly unprepared, and Drake seized ships and plundered towns almost at will.

At length, with his own ship so loaded down with wealth as never plunder ship had been before, Drake found himself in the northern Pacific. The Spanish colonies were buzzing behind him like a hive of angry bees. To return meant

almost sure destruction; so he kept on northward, hoping to find that northern passage across America in which men still believed.

Thus exploring, Drake sailed along the coast of California and probably that of Oregon. Then as the land compelled him to sail ever further westward, he boldly turned across the Pacific, swept past all the Spanish and Portuguese warships in Asiatic waters, and on around Africa to his home. Such leaders as this, and the tradition they established, have made our commanders what they are today on land and sea.

England rejoiced loudly in this daring exploit. Queen Elizabeth came in state to dine with Drake on board his ship, the Golden Hind, and knighted him upon its deck. The ship itself was preserved as a national "monument," the symbol of all the English had dared and done against the Spaniards in America.

7. SPAIN TRIED TO CONQUER ENGLAND AND FAILED

Harassed beyond bearing by these English raids, King Philip of Spain resolved to crush forever both England and Protestantism. He gathered a great army to invade England; and he built a fleet of warships, the greatest the world had yet known. This fleet, called the Invincible Armada, sailed to attack the English fleet and clear the way for the invading army.

From all over the world the English seafarers sped home to aid in defending England, and the Invincible Armada was defeated in the most decisive sea-battle known to history (1588). The chief commander of the English fleet, Lord Howard, was a Catholic, so united were Englishmen of every creed in resisting Spanish invasion.

Another almost equally large sea-fight off Cadiz, the prin-

cipal Spanish seaport, completely crushed Spain's naval power (1596). This broke the Spanish strength for war. England took her former rival's place as the chief power in Europe. Now the English might safely settle in America if they wished.

8. ENGLAND RESOLVED TO SEIZE PART OF AMERICA

Even before these victories, Spain's power had been so shaken that Englishmen had begun to think of seizing some portion of America. At first they looked upon a colony there as merely an advance post from which their ships could more readily attack the Spaniards. Its settlement was to be an act of war.

With this in view, Englishmen revived recollection of the old voyage of John Cabot almost a century before. Their thrifty king's ten pounds had been well invested after all. On the basis of Cabot's discovery they laid claim to the whole Atlantic coast from Florida northward.

To justify this stand, Queen Elizabeth made proclamation to the world that she would regard no new land as belonging to any kingdom unless its discovery were followed up by settlement and actual occupation. She thus recognized the Spanish right to Florida, but denied it to the unsettled regions further north.

9. GILBERT ATTEMPTED THE FIRST SETTLEMENT—AND DIED

The leaders of this first English colonizing movement were the half-brothers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. Gilbert began with a plan to settle Newfoundland. This was in 1578, thirty years before the successful French effort to colonize those northern regions. Newfoundland was the American land nearest to England and safest from the Spaniards; and it was already used by English fishermen.

Twice Gilbert's fleets were shattered by storms or by battle with the Spaniards. Yet in the end he did plant England's flag on Newfoundland and asserted dominion over all the fishermen of many lands who gathered there (1583). Gilbert's own ship was wrecked on the stormy shore. So he sought to encourage his sailors by making the return voyage to England in the smallest of his remaining ships, smaller even than the baby Niña in which Columbus had returned.

Gilbert's fate was that which had so nearly overtaken Columbus. In a tremendous storm off the Azores Islands, the struggling crew of a larger sister vessel were keeping anxious watch on the night lights of Gilbert's tiny ship. Suddenly those lights disappeared. Some monster wave must have engulfed the ship with a single stroke. Thus abruptly did ocean snatch its brave victims in those days.

10. SIR WALTER RALEIGH CARRIED ON GILBERT'S WORK

Gilbert's colony ended with his death; but Raleigh persisted. In their combined efforts the two brothers spent on their American ventures almost the whole of their large private fortune. Their loss would equal more than a million dollars of our money today. The visible result was only one failure after another and, in the end, death to both the brothers. They were types of England's best, members of a family whose descendants are still to be found in New England today.

After Gilbert's death, Raleigh planned to colonize some more southern region. The Spaniards were a lesser danger than the grim winters of the north. He sent two ships (1584) by the long southern route, skirting the Spanish islands and exploring the coast northward from Florida. The expedition returned home with two friendly Indians

aboard and with enthusiastic reports of the beauty, peace and fertile soil of our middle States.

Queen Elizabeth's enthusiasm was aroused. She herself suggested that the land be named after her. So with true Elizabethan gallantry, Raleigh honored her unmarried condition by calling the land Virginia. The name at first applied to all the long coast England claimed from tropic Florida to icy Newfoundland.

Sir Walter Raleigh

Sir Humphrey Gilbert

II. RALEIGH ATTEMPTED A COLONY AT ROANOKE

Under Raleigh's direction, a colony was at once landed at Roanoke Island on the North Carolina shore (1585). It proved a miserable and costly failure; because its food supplies were insufficient.

This was indeed the main difficulty with all the early colonies. Their tiny ships could scarce carry even food for the journey out and home. The colonists knew little of how to win food from the wilderness; and even when they planted their English crops, these often failed to thrive under the new climate of America.

When Raleigh's ships left Roanoke for home the colonists who were left behind soon faced starvation. Drake, passing by on a raid in which he had burned and plundered St. Augustine, visited the exhausted adventurers. Finding their position utterly hopeless, he took them home in his ships.

12. A SECOND ROANOKE COLONY INCLUDED WOMEN

These first returning "Virginians" brought with them to England very encouraging reports. They also brought two new and notable products of our land. One was tobacco, so called by the Spaniards, and already widely known as a rare and costly Spanish delicacy. Raleigh is often pictured as the first English smoker. The other product was the potato. This was transplanted from South America to Virginia and thence to England and especially to Ireland. The potato became Ireland's main food support.

The next year (1587) Raleigh tried again in the most noted of all the early unsuccessful colonies. This was planted on another part of Roanoke Island. It contained seventeen women as well as about a hundred men. Its governor, John White, showed his confidence in the colony by bringing along his own married daughter, Mrs. Dare. To her was born at Roanoke a daughter, who, in love of the new land, was named Virginia Dare.

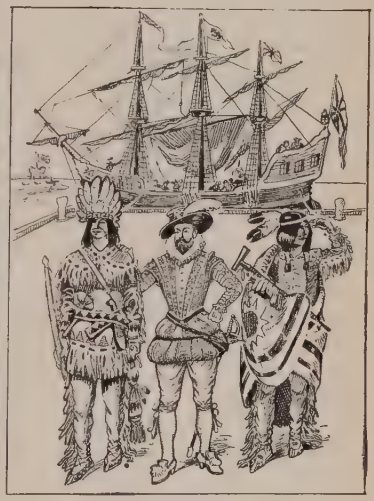
Little Virginia was the first English child born in America, and her tragic fate has been made the theme of many romances.

13. ENGLAND FEARED FOR HER POOR: SHE NEEDED COLONIES

Before telling the fate of Virginia Dare, we must pause to note the changing character of these English efforts at

colonizing. The Roanoke settlement was no longer a mere military outpost, such as Gilbert had planned. Women had gone out there as well as men; and women are the true colonizers, for they are the home-makers. They change a temporary trading-post into a lasting and contented village.

The First White Child at Roanoke



Raleigh Parades the First Americans in England

This effort to build new homes in America arose partly from new necessities. The conditions of life in the old land began to press more heavily upon the poor. Some leaders even feared that England was becoming overcrowded. She had only about five million people, whereas today she has eight times as many; yet she wanted more room. A real, new problem had arisen. Sheep-raising was becoming a main industry of the nation; and as the profits from the sheep increased, farms were turned

into pastures. Whole villages were pulled down; and fields which had supported many farm-laborers became meadows supporting only sheep.

The country folk were driven from their old employments. There were as yet few manufacturers, and hence no other work to which the unemployed could turn. They became houseless beggars; they drifted up to London; they rioted; they starved. America offered escape from this disaster, unlimited land for everybody.

14. MEN DREAMED OF A "GREATER ENGLAND" OVERSEAS

But who would venture the terrible journey? Who would face the trackless forest and the savage Indians? A few patriotic leaders were ready to show the way; but what inducements could be offered to attract colonists?

There began, slowly at first, an effort to "boom" America. Spain's increasing weakness made colonizing within the lands she claimed seem not quite so dangerous as before. The new explorers were honestly impressed with the beauties of "Virginia."

Even the Indians were pictured in a new light. One of Raleigh's captains described them as a people "most gentle, loving, and faithful, and such as live after the manner of the golden age."

Raleigh's own hopes grew large. In urging his plans upon Queen Elizabeth, he now spoke glowingly of building a lasting empire, a "new England beyond the seas," a greater England. He meant, of course, a feudal England like his own; but he could see it as a "Greater England!" Raleigh was the first man of vision to proclaim for our land some such future, some such giant development, as it has really had.

15. THE NEW ENGLAND WAS TO BE AS FREE AS THE OLD

A longing for life in America swept over the English people. The wild, free ways that men imagined over here, appealed to adventurous spirits. The increasing misery of the poor in England caused an anxious sense that prosperity there, or even justice, was becoming difficult.

The Queen's grant under which both Gilbert and Raleigh worked, stated that the people of the colonies were to possess all the equal rights of English freemen, and should make and be governed by their own laws. The grant only limited these laws by requiring that they "conform as near as conveniently may be with those of England, and do not oppugn the Christian faith, or any way withdraw the people of those lands from our allegiance."

The language of this grant was sometimes retained in future colonial charters; but later British rulers thought mainly of its second part, its limits upon freedom. They lost sight of its broad principles of equality and self-government. These were the very rights for which Americans afterward fought the Revolution. Had Elizabeth's successors been as shrewd as she in recognizing that her people could be led but not driven, the whole course of our country's history might have been different indeed.

Our land was born and bred from Elizabethan England.

16. VIRGINIA DARE AND ALL AT ROANOKE WERE LOST

Unfortunately for little Virginia Dare and the seventeen older women of the well planned and promising Roanoke colony, there now came upon England, just after Roanoke was begun, the threat of the Spanish Armada. Governor White himself, returning to England for supplies for his colony, was drawn into the great life and death struggle. He did his part there manfully.

After the Armada's defeat, the anxious governor returned to America to seek his colony, his daughter, and his granddaughter. Once the Spaniards drove him back, and once a storm; and only after four years of absence did he manage at last to reach Roanoke again. He found it an empty wilderness.

What had become of this celebrated "lost colony"? Its fate was never really known. Perhaps the Spaniards reached it after all. A local Indian tradition, however, speaks of some unhappy white folk as having been driven by hunger to seek Indian aid. Most of them, the story says, were killed, but some were adopted and carried off by the wandering redmen. Thus the fate of Virginia Dare, the first child of our American race, remains even now a mystery.

17. RALEIGH WAS EXECUTED BY ELIZABETH'S SUCCESSOR

Raleigh's resolve to colonize America was not to be broken even by repeated failure. Having done his share in the great final victory over the Spaniards at Cadiz, he in person headed an exploring expedition to South America. He won British Guiana for his country.

By this time, however, the great queen's reign had reached its end (1603). The crowning of her successor, King James I, made an enormous difference to Englishmen. Raleigh, the typical great Elizabethan leader, was arrested by the new king on an unjust charge of treason, and was kept in prison many years. Finally, to satisfy the insistent demands of Spain, he was beheaded as a traitor (1618). He was our country's first great champion and benefactor.

As Raleigh stood beside the block to be beheaded, he ran his finger along the keen edge of the axe and said cheer-

An Indian Village Showing Growing Crops
As sketched by an early English explorer

fully, "This is a sharp medicine, but it cures all ills." The last recorded speech of his brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, before his drowning, had been, "The way to heaven is as near by sea as by land." This calm and courageous manner of meeting death was typical of Elizabethan Englishmen. Our part today is to show ourselves equal to such heroic founders.

18. ALL ENGLAND OPPOSED THE TYRANNY OF KING JAMES

The rule of King James I over England was different indeed from that of Elizabeth, a difference that meant much to America. James Stuart was the nearest relative of the queen and her legal successor; so the English accepted him, although they liked him not at all. Moreover, James' mother, "Mary, Queen of Scots," had been executed in an English prison on a political charge of plotting against Elizabeth.

James loved his new subjects as little as they loved him. To Elizabeth they had given an eager, gallant obedience. With James they were in constant quarrel. They regarded his every act as an effort to deprive them of their highly valued "rights of Englishmen."

19. ENGLISH REVOLT DEVELOPED MOST RAPIDLY IN AMERICA

Events very shortly proved that England's suspicion of King James was just. James believed vehemently in his own "divine right" to govern as he pleased. He said in secret to a confidant that he had found the English Parliament already on hand when he arrived as a stranger, and that he could not get rid of it; but that he was amazed that the earlier kings had ever permitted its existence.

Thus there soon began in England the long quarrel be-

tween the Stuart kings and the English people. The kings desired more power; the people demanded more freedom.

This quarrel resulted in civil war, the beheading of one king and the banishing of another. It led to the colonizing of English America by settlers many of whom had lost all faith in kings. It led to an advance of freedom far more rapid in this country than the advance in England, where the king's power was more strongly felt. And so at length it led to separation between the two.

20. A "VIRGINIA COMPANY" ASSUMED THE COST OF COLONIZING

King James' first step was to make peace with Spain. This the Spaniards were glad to accept; for they were at war with Holland and had sunk to such weakness that they could scarce hold their own even against this single foe. King James forbade all further sea raids on the Spaniards.

The king, however, maintained his country's right to colonize Virginia. Indeed he professed a warm interest in Virginia; for he hoped that gold would be found there, and he insisted that a large share of this should belong to him personally without his putting forth any effort or expense to earn it. Several exploring and trading voyages were now made along the American coast. One or two colonies were again attempted.

Then, this great American enterprise having shown itself too costly to be undertaken by a single individual, even by so powerful and wealthy a man as Raleigh, the king approved the starting of two merchant companies (1606) under a Council of Virginia. This was formed expressly to colonize and make money from America; but its members were also patriots with something of Raleigh's hopes. Some of them were leading "liberal" nobles who began

opposing the king's power in Parliament. The freedom they demanded in England, they granted in America.

21. THE LONDON COMPANY WAS THE CRADLE OF OUR LIBERTY

The meetings of the more important of the two companies, called the London Company, became centers of hot protest against kingly interference with the law. The wily Spanish ambassador, now high in favor with King James, warned him that he would find the gatherings of this Company were like a dangerous school, teaching men how to oppose him in Parliament.

James began a long contest against the Company, which he had himself created. At length in 1624 he succeeded in abolishing it. That, however, was only after the sturdily fighting London Company had successfully colonized Virginia, and the other similar company had begun colonizing the North. The London Company, under its leader Sir Edwyn Sandys, made positive the beginnings of self-government in America. But in helping America, the company destroyed itself.

The setting up of self-government in Virginia was thus a victory for the Englishmen who were fighting for self-government at home. Sandys has been called the "Founder of Liberty in America."

The Powers Which the English Ships Brought to America Were STRENGTH and LAW

Regions chiefly settled by the five colonizing Powers from Europe

CHAPTER SIX

THE FOUNDING OF FREEDOM IN VIRGINIA

A Tale of British Persistence and Endurance even unto Death

(1607–1619)

I. VIRGINIA WAS SUCCESSFULLY SETTLED AT JAMESTOWN

Virginia, the land named for Elizabeth, was first successfully settled in 1607, after the great queen's death. A settlement was then planted at Jamestown on the James River, both river and town being named in honor of the new king.

This earliest English colony at its beginning encountered dangers, miseries, deaths, as tragic as those we have already seen the French facing in the same years in their efforts to colonize Canada. Twice the Jamestown colony was on the very edge of ruin as complete and disastrous as Raleigh's colony had suffered at Roanoke. Men have never faced grimmer hardships.

The name Virginia, you will recall, had at first been given to the entire Atlantic coast. In time English kings granted some of this American land to other folk beside the original Virginia Company. The region given to each new company or courtier was cut off and settled under a new name. Thus at last instead of one colony there were thirteen; and the name Virginia shrank to mean only one of the thirteen, the State which still carries its proud ancient title from Queen Elizabeth.

2. ENGLAND EXPECTED MUCH FROM THE JAMESTOWN COLONY

All England watched with interest the sailing of the first fleet sent out by the Virginian Company (1606). It consisted of three ships. The flagship, the Sarah Constant, was scarcely larger than that of Columbus over a century before; and the smallest ship, bravely called the Discovery, was as tiny as the Niña in which Columbus was so nearly wrecked. Yet the Virginian fleet carried not only its sailors but 105 eager colonists beside, all men.

A leading poet of the time, still dreaming of America as the fabled land of gems, bade the colonists farewell in a poem declaring they would be sure

> "To get the pearl and gold,
> "And ours to hold
> "Virginia, Earth's only paradise."

Shakespeare too, with his all-seeing eye, followed the adventures of the colony; he perhaps refers to them in his famous play "The Tempest."

There was much fear that Spain might suddenly attack and secretly destroy the colony, as she had destroyed that of the French in Florida. Hence some secrecy covered the sailing of the fleet and prevented any official ceremony. Yet even the king himself in his rather fussy way showed an active interest in the great venture.

3. KING JAMES PLANNED THE COLONY GOVERNMENT—BADLY

King James organized an elaborate form of government for the colony. The most important of the laws he planned was that the colonists were to be ruled by a council of their leading men, whom he himself selected.

Then with one of his strange unwise whimsies James had the names of the council members enclosed in a sealed

box. This was not to be opened until the colonists had actually landed to select their place of settlement.

Thus on the long voyage outward none of the colonists knew who were to be their chiefs. Each man might hope that he had been selected. Each might plan to lord it over the others. Disputes, suspicions, accusations began even during the voyage. All the imperfections of autocratic government were carried to America aboard these first little ships.

Jamestown

4. THE FIRST LEADER WAS NEWPORT, OUR FIRST ADMIRAL

The fleet reached Virginia with its most energetic member, John Smith, already arrested and in irons, accused by his rivals of plotting to seize control. When they opened the king's secret box, they found that the fleet's commander and six others were to form the ruling council. Smith, the prisoner in irons, was one of the six. Several "gentlemen" of rank who had fully expected to be named, found themselves passed over for men of wider experience. Here was fresh cause for discontent and quarreling.

The king's plan thus made Christopher Newport, commander of the fleet, stand forth for a moment as our land's first leader, its first Admiral. He was one of England's noted sea-fighters, a former chief captain in Raleigh's fleets, an excellent head for any colony.

Newport, however, was commanded not to stay with the colonists; he was to land them, establish them, and return to England for new men and new supplies, fighting the Spaniards, if need be, on the way. In all, Newport made five bold and successful voyages to Virginia with never a mishap, except for the one wreck on the Bermudas on which Shakespeare builds his play.

5. THE HOME COMPANY'S COMMANDS WERE WISE AND NOBLE

As to the colonists who were to remain behind, the Company had given careful and elaborate written instructions, closing with this memorable command: "Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God."

That was the essence of the English teaching, "Unity, Energy, Faith."

The colonists were told to select for their settlement a spot somewhere on Chesapeake Bay. They were to build far enough up one of the rivers to be safe from a Spanish surprise attack, on open ground to guard against Indian attack, and on high ground to escape marsh fevers.

Theoretical instructions given a thousand miles away do not always prove practical on the spot. Newport followed orders as well as he could. He sailed thirty miles up the James River, considering site after site. Finally the colonists selected the peninsula on which they planted Jamestown.

6. BUT JAMESTOWN BRED FEVER, VIRGINIA'S WORST FOE

While steeply fronting the river on one side, the peninsula of Jamestown spread into marshes behind. The colo-

nists thus surrendered themselves at the very start to one of the most deadly of all the new and unknown enemies they had to face. This was malaria.

Malaria is spread by the mosquito's bite, but its true source was not recognized by science until within the past century. Hence the disease claimed deadly toll from all the English in America. For more than fifty years, that is until the settlements reached so far inland as to escape the marshes, a full third of the colonists who emigrated to our southern coast died of fever within the first year.

The survivors gradually became "immune"; that is their bodies had learned, after long misery, to resist the fever's poison. Those of you who think your lives are hard today, should measure them by what men first suffered to build up this land and create the comforts of today.

7. THE COLONISTS APPLIED THEMSELVES IN TURN TO GOD, TO GOVERNMENT, AND TO GOLD

Unsuspicious of this particular evil that awaited them, Newport's colonists landed eagerly at Jamestown. Their first act was to erect a sort of tent between two trees and hold a religious service. Their next was to have their council members meet, take an oath of loyalty, and choose a president of the council. Their third was to begin searching for gold, with which to load the returning ships.

The sequence means much. These were young and vigorous men who had ventured forth from England to make their fortunes. They still hoped, as the Spaniards had, that the wealth of this new world lay in gold. They had not learned that labor was to be their wealth, and the search for gold their curse.

Yet, even ahead of gold, the colonists had first held their service of worship to God. They had felt too that urge to

organization which is the strength of the English race, and had started the business of government. The gold was not so near to their hearts as were religious faith and social order.

8. RELIGION MOVED ENGLAND STRONGLY IN THAT AGE

These first colonists were not an unusually religious set of men. Several among the thirteen colonies were settled with a directly religious aim; Virginia was not. Yet England was devotedly "Protestant" in those days. Her sailors felt that in their recent overthrow of Spain's great power they had been specially protected by Heaven.

The religious laws which these Virginians voluntarily established among themselves would seem strict indeed to our modern young folk. Church service was held every day, and every man was required to be present. If a man swore, a bucket of cold water was poured down his back inside his clothes.

Once the president of the council was beating a man for disobedience, and the man ventured to strike back. Thereon he was condemned to be hanged, although he was afterwards pardoned. Clearly the colonists had stern ideas as to the respect which must be paid both to office and religion.

Behold our first Virginians, then, strong in faith and loyal to their government, but already threatened by quarrels from within and by fever from without, landing at Jamestown on May 13, 1607. England in America begins.

9. JOHN SMITH SOON DOMINATED THE COLONY

Smith, the prisoner in irons who had been named as one of the seven councillors, promptly demanded his English right to a "trial by jury," to test the charges against him. This was granted; the charges broke down and he was al-

John Smith in the First Law Trial in the English Colonies
From the painting by C. Y. Turner in the Court House of Cleveland, Ohio

lowed to take his place upon the council. Newport and he explored the River James and made friends with the Indians. Then Newport sailed away with the ships; and our knowledge of what followed at Jamestown rests chiefly on the story told by John Smith.

Smith was only twenty-seven; but he had already, if we may trust his own rather romantic tales, fought and adventured all over the world. He had certainly been granted a title by the Prince of Hungary for defeating and beheading three Turkish champions one after the other. So that he had a coat of arms showing three Turks' heads upon a shield. Smith tells us there was also a lady in the case. A typical Elizabethan youth was this, full of power and full of boasting words.

His chance joining of the expedition meant much to the Virginia colony. You must some day read his own exciting story of his deeds.

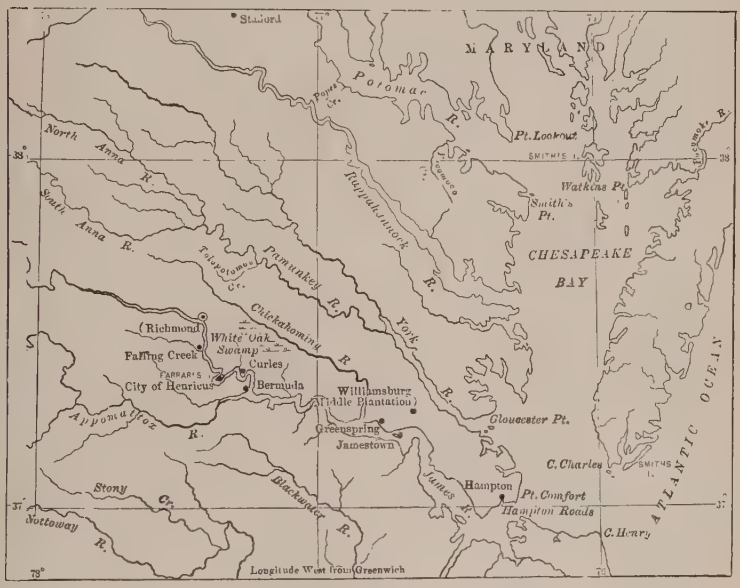
10. ENERGY WAS WASTED AND NEEDFUL WORK NOT DONE

All personal disputes were for a time laid aside by the colonists. Everybody joined in the eager search for gold, and for that most persistent of elusive European desires, the channel through to Asia. The search even delayed the more necessary work of building houses and planting grain.

All the leaders shared in this mistake. The home Company, moreover, had made a mistake even more serious. It had ordered that all land and food should be shared by the colonists in common.

The colony thus began as what is generally called a "communism." If a man helped build a house or cleared and planted a field, every other man had as much right to it as he. The result was that each man soon felt he had

done enough for the common good, he would wait now for others to do as much. What gold he might discover would be largely his own. Hence the council found it almost impossible to get anyone to do the necessary commonplace work. Where labor fails, disaster must follow.



Virginia in the Earlier Colonial Days

A similar system of common ownership of food and shelter was tried later at Plymouth in New England under far better conditions, and again proved impracticable.

II. SICKNESS SLEW HALF THE COLONISTS

The food left behind by Captain Newport had been scant. It began to spoil. Instead of digging a well, the colonists drank the water of the river, which as one of them records was salt at high tide and at low tide "full of slime and

filth." Next came the hot summer; and with it came fever.

The colonists knew not how to meet this unknown foe. Half of them died. The other half were so feeble that they could scarce show even a pretense of defense against the Indians, "not having five able men to man our bulwarks."

Smith was one of the few who kept his health. He made friends with the main Indian tribe, the Powhatans, and so sheltered the helpless colony from attack.

12. THE INDIANS ACCEPTED THE ENGLISH AS FOES OF SPAIN

The Virginia Indians had at first been hostile. They had attacked the English even before Jamestown was built. This was because the Indians had first learned to know white men through the raids of Spanish slavers. The Spaniards had often visited the Chesapeake and had even planted a colony there, with over a thousand people. The fevers and the Indians had at length driven the Spanish colonists away. They had left behind them such hatred and such fear that the Powhatans now dreaded all white men.

When the Indians were told that the English were foes of Spain, they were not unwilling to welcome the expedition. They even showed the newcomers how to make their camp more secure against any wandering hostile Indians. Yet neither Newport nor Smith, after Newport's departure, ventured to tell the Indians that the colony was to last always. Talk between the two races was of course very vague; but the Indians soon managed to convey one question, which they constantly repeated. When would the English leave? When would they march against the Spaniards?

Mutual suspicion separated the two races. A single savage blow by some reckless youth on either side could have started warfare. Battle among thoughtless people is always as easy to begin as it is hard to end.

13. THE INDIANS GREW SUSPICIOUS; THEY CAPTURED SMITH

All through that terrible summer of death, the Indians became more fearful and suspicious. Yet they made no attack on Jamestown; and when the cool fresh airs of autumn came, the fever passed from those it had not slain. Once more the white men could stand up and defend themselves.

Then famine threatened. Few crops had been prepared. Smith began trading with the Indians for their maize, the corn which they kept stored against their times of need, and which has since become America's best known grain. The Indians parted with the corn unwillingly. They had no wish to feed the English.

In December Smith with two followers went exploring far up one of the rivers. They were ambushed by Indians. Smith's two comrades were slain; and he after a struggle in which he killed two of his foes was made a prisoner.

14. SMITH WAS SAVED BY POCAHONTAS AND ADOPTED BY HER TRIBE

What follows was long ridiculed by readers of Smith's story as too romantic to be true. With our fuller modern knowledge of Indian customs, we see that it fitted so exactly with these that Smith, not knowing Indian ways, could not have invented a tale so true to life.

The Indians had seized Smith probably for torture; but he showed them a compass covered with glass. Both the glass and the needle being equally strange to them, they

took Smith for a wizard and brought him to their medicine men or priests. He was at length sent on to their main leader, their "Powhatan" or head chief of the Powhatan Indians. The Powhatan after consulting with his medicine men resolved, though with fear and hesitance, to kill the wizard. Smith was bound and placed with his head on a stone, to be slain by the clubs of two big Indians.

Then the Powhatan's twelve year old daughter, Pocahontas, saved her father's perplexity and Smith's life by claiming the prisoner as an adopted member of the family.

15. THIS INDIAN BLOOD BOND PROTECTED THE COLONY

Such an adoption was common Indian practice. A war captive so adopted was regarded as a member of the tribe. He had usually no way of again finding his own tribe or what of it remained after an Indian war, so he often proved a real son or brother to the family which adopted him.

The Powhatan now went through the Indian ceremony of adopting the bewildered Smith, who naturally looked on all this as a sort of miracle. He was given presents; he promised presents in return, and he was escorted with honor back to Jamestown.

Thereafter, so long as the white men treated the Indians with any sort of fairness, there remained a bond between them. Pocahontas, as Smith called her though her Indian name was Matoaka, became the special friend of the colonists. She was a sort of guardian angel to them all.

16. THE SECOND YEAR WAS MUCH LESS TERRIBLE

The very day of Smith's triumphal return from captivity, Captain Newport reached Jamestown with a second load of men and supplies (January, 1608). He had left

105 men in the colony; he found only 38 alive. Such had been the grim death toll of that first experiment.

During the second year (1608) Smith explored and mapped all the Chesapeake region, his maps even today being regarded as masterpieces superior to almost all early maps. He probably landed where our nation's capital now stands, and was thus the first white man to view its site.

Pocahontas

John Smith

His energy seemed inexhaustible. In September, on his return from exploring, he was chosen president of the council. The two preceding presidents had been rejected and sent home to England as incompetent.

Among the colonists brought by Newport on his third voyage this same year, there came two women, the first to enter the colony. They were a "Mistress Forest," a lady who loyally accompanied her husband, and Mistress Forest's maid, Anne "Burras" or Burroughs. Miss Burras found one value in coming to a frontier land. She had a crowd of eager suitors from whom to select a mate. She married before the year was out. That was the first English marriage in America.

The colony was now well begun as an organized society. It had experienced its first marriage, its first jury trial, that of John Smith, and alas, its first execution, that of a suspected plotter against the Council. For a first English-American birth there had been that even earlier one of Virginia Dare at Roanoke.

17. THE COLONY STILL DEPENDED ON THE INDIANS FOR FOOD

Now came a time of sharper danger from the Indians. They began to realize that these constantly arriving Englishmen meant to stay in the land. They grew bitter. Pocahontas still kept up her friendship. Repeatedly she brought a train of Indians loaded with corn as a gift to her "white brothers." The Powhatan, however, began to refuse them corn. Perhaps his people were growing short of it themselves; perhaps he hoped to force the colonists to leave.

Because of sickness and the unfortunate system of common property, the colonists were still neglecting their farming. Each new set of arrivals proved as heedless as the others of that unpaid toil for the common good. England had still to supply most of the food, and could not send enough. Without the Indians' corn the adventurers would have starved indeed.

Smith repeatedly wrung supplies from the Indians; but with each effort he found his "father" Powhatan more unfatherly. Smith suspected the old chief of planning to wipe out the entire colony. Constant watchfulness replaced the former friendliness.

18. SMITH TOOK CONTROL AND COMPELLED EVERYONE TO WORK

At last Smith, as President, called his people together and announced a new law, "He who does not work shall

not eat." He enforced that law too. That winter the colonists built some twenty houses; they dug a good well; they cleared over thirty acres of land, and planted it.

Meanwhile in England, a new "London Company" replaced the old one, a widespread business company with over six hundred members. A much larger amount of money was thus obtained for the colony. Any ordinary company would have abandoned the costly business; but these men planned for empire. A "governor" was appointed to go to Virginia and take control, a man of rank and high repute, Lord De la Warr or Delaware. His fame remains to us in the State and river named after him.

Delaware prepared for a far bigger colony. He sent out a fleet of nine ships carrying over five hundred colonists, including many women. This fleet was scattered by a storm and its chief ship was wrecked on the Bermudas, Shakespeare's wreck.

The other ships reached the colony but brought only trouble. The official rulers being stranded at Bermuda, their lesser captains demanded that Smith surrender his authority to them. He refused. The old colonists backed him up; the new comers supported the new leaders. Smith carried things with a high hand and compelled obedience, until a powder explosion injured him. Then he had to leave for England to be tended for his wounds. He never returned to Virginia.

19. THE NEWCOMERS ANGERED THE INDIANS. THEN CAME THE "STARVING TIME"

With the passing of Smith, the colony was plunged into its last and nearest approach to failure. His departure broke the bond of brotherhood with the Powhatans. Some of the new-comers roughly plundered and abused the In-

dians. The redmen retreated into the forest in rage and fear.

Moreover the curse of the common property law again raised its head. Nobody would do the necessary work. The colony's food supply was soon eaten. The Indians would not or could not supply more. There was no Captain Smith to restrain reckless waste and compel obedience. By spring of the next dreadful year (1610) the colonists faced actual starvation.

This was long remembered as the "Starving Time." During the winter's cold the settlers had torn down their palisades for firewood. Now, lurking Indians were always shooting in an arrow to slay the dreaded whites. Of five hundred people who were in the colony when Smith left it in October, only sixty remained the next May. These survivors were famished, and almost maddened by their sufferings.

20. JAMESTOWN WAS ABANDONED AND THEN SAVED

These sixty were found by the colonists who had been wrecked on the Bermudas. They had built themselves new ships there, and voyaged on to Jamestown. But the newcomers had no food either. To stay in Virginia meant starvation for them all. So most unwillingly the entire group re-boarded their ships and started to sail down the James River (June 7, 1610). Jamestown was abandoned to the savages.

Few scenes of history are more dramatic than that of the rescue of Jamestown. As the group of colonists sailed down the James in their rough home-made unprovisioned ships, they met at its entrance the advance boat from a strong English fleet commanded by Lord Delaware himself. He had come in person to save his colony.

POCAHONTAS, THE PRESERVER OF VIRGINIA *Courtesy of Continental Ins. Co.*

POCAHONTAS, THE PRESERVER OF VIRGINIA

When in the first difficult year of the settlement at Jamestown, the Indian princess, Pocahontas, saved John Smith from death, she did far more than shelter the life of a single white man. She saved the little colony; for if Smith had not on this occasion brought back corn from the Indians, the settlers seemed doomed to starvation. Hence the effort of the young princess to secure a new and valuable member for her tribe did in fact bind the fortunes of her people to those of the whites. So long as her father Powhatan lived, and so long as she herself survived as an Englishman's wife, so long the bond between the two races remained. It was a protection to each; and its later breaking was no fault of the generous, noble-minded Pocahontas.

Promptly the hardy colonists turned back. They would not have abandoned Jamestown, had one chance of success remained there. Here was the needed food. When Delaware with his main ships reached Jamestown, the colonists stood in rank upon the shore and saluted him as their rescuer. He thanked them for remaining, and knelt in prayer upon the shore to thank God for having enabled him to arrive in time. England had come to America this time to stay.

One gentleman among those who saluted Delaware from the shore wrote a song about it; the closing lines were:

"We hope to plant a nation
Where none before hath stood."

It is because of that undauntable spirit of these English folk, rising over every horror of defeat and fever and starvation, that you and I are here today.

21. THE IRON RULE OF DALE RESTORED PROSPERITY

Delaware himself remained in Virginia only about a year. He established the settlement on a firm basis, and thereafter he and the strong company in England took care that the colony was well supported. Moreover Delaware appointed as his deputy Sir Thomas Dale, a ruler as resolute as Smith had been.

By this time the original council system of government had fallen wholly into disrepute. For five years (1611-1616) Dale ruled as an autocrat and with great severity. Nevertheless he won the respect and support of all the well-meaning settlers. One of his first steps was to discard the old "communism" and give to every settler land of his own from which he must support himself.

The change was a striking lesson in human nature and

the science of government. Each man became industrious when he found that his labor was to bring direct reward. One old colonist reports that "Three men did more work under the new rule than twenty did under the old."

22. POCAHONTAS AGAIN BEFRIENDED THE WHITES

Now too the former peaceful relation with the Indians was resumed. Both Delaware and Dale had attacked them for their assaults upon the colony during the "starving time." In one of these punishing raids Pocahontas had been captured and brought as a prisoner to Jamestown. Here (1614) she met and wedded John Rolfe, one of the colonists who had been in the Bermuda wreck.

Before the marriage Pocahontas became a Christian under the guidance of the clergyman Alexander Whittaker, whose labors with the Indians led to his being called "The Apostle of Virginia." Pocahontas, or Matoaka, was baptised under a new name, Rebecca. This wedding renewed the blood-bond with the Powhatan; and while he lived the colony had peace with his people.

When Sir Thomas Dale left the colony in 1616, Mr. and Mrs. Rolfe visited England with him. There Pocahontas was welcomed as an emperor's daughter. The fussy King James even talked of punishing John Rolfe because he, a mere commoner, had dared to wed a princess. Pocahontas died in England on this visit; but Rolfe and their son returned to Virginia. Several leading Virginia families still reckon the "Indian princess" as an ancestress.

23. TOBACCO MADE VIRGINIA SUDDENLY RICH

Rolfe did another important thing for Virginia. He experimented with the growing of the Indian tobacco, and in 1616 a shipment of it was sent to England. It sold for

large profits. Virginia had found her basis for prosperity. Before this, the colony had been a constant source of expense to the home country. Now the returns began.

All Virginia started raising tobacco. In time this even became the money of the colony. Salaries were set at so many "pounds of tobacco." The first colonists had gone

A Tobacco Roller *(Contemporary Sketch)*
Tobacco, packed in huge barrels, was thus dragged to a river for shipment

out groping for a prosperity which they hoped would come from some unknown source. Now men could plan to earn a sure wealth from tobacco.

Moneyed men came over and began large plantations. Tobacco was found to grow best on fresh ground, so new fields were constantly cleared. The colony spread; it split up into separate counties and "plantations." The Indians were pushed further back, and wholly out of "tidewater" Virginia.

24. SHIPLOADS OF WIVES WERE SENT OUT

To this now thriving colony there came in 1619 three important changes. The first was the arrival of a ship carrying a group of young women.

The women in the colony before had been few, and had

come out with their own men folk. But the Company now realized that if men were to stay in America homes must be made there. Hence the Company selected, as carefully as it could, a shipload of healthy, honest, young women, and sent them to become wives to the colonists. This was not an ideal method of marriage; but it was the only practicable one for all the men who had gone alone to Virginia.

The "shipload of wives" was welcomed eagerly. Many marriages were made on the very day of landing; and a second shipload soon followed the first. Each man paid the Company for his wife's passage; and the speculation seems, in most cases, to have been profitable all around.

Women of higher rank came also to the colony; and Virginia became a real land of homes. The men, who might easily have sunk to the level of the Indians among whom they lived, began instead to uplift themselves. Tobacco had brought wealth; family life now brought the inspiration to advancement.

25. SLAVERY ENTERED THE COLONY ALMOST UNNOTICED

The second happening of 1619 was the coming of some twenty negroes. A few were brought by a Dutch trading-ship; others by an English privateer. The tobacco growers needed all the help they could get; and these first negroes were hired as bond-servants, not slaves. Some of them worked out their term of service and became free. The negroes, however, were still too uncivilized to govern and restrain themselves. The colony protected itself against them by increasing severity; and their condition sank from servitude into slavery.

Nobody had yet thought much of slavery's unrighteousness. We have seen how Portugal sold negro slaves

to Europe. In America, the North held slaves as well as the South; and New England ship-masters rivalled those of Britain in selling negroes to Virginia. The horrors of the slave-ships which carried the poor captured blacks from Africa were unspeakable; but in America itself the slaves' condition was usually much better than in their former African lives of fear and ignorance and misery.

The marked and advancing culture of the negro race has all been gained in America. The blight of slavery fell less upon their race than on their masters. Our negro problem was to prove one of the chief dangers of our country, weakening, confusing, and at length almost shattering our government.

None of this was realized in 1619. Few slaves were to be had; and not until a century later did they become so numerous as to be regarded as a serious problem. Not until a yet later day did the majority of the white race rise to the broader democracy that could recognize the wrong of slavery.

26. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT WAS ESTABLISHED

With this curse there came also to Virginia in 1619 our land's chief blessing, Representative Government. It must not be forgotten that many men in England were already fighting the tyrannic rule of their king and had begun looking to America as a freer land.

The London Company had found its first "council" plan of government for Virginia a failure. The autocratic rule of Dale could only succeed with such a ruler as he, as honest and able as he was hard. Under his successors it became a disgrace, a mere brutal plundering of the colony. So now the company, under its great leader Sandys, tried a new plan.

There was still to be a governor and council appointed from England, but there was also to be a second house, an "Assembly of Burgesses." Its members were to be elected by the colonists themselves, and were to form the chief law-making body of the colony.

27. THAT SPIRIT OF GOVERNMENT MUST STILL BE FOLLOWED

Self-government, as every American must realize, does not mean that we all vote for all our laws. We should seldom all reach any agreement, much less any sensible one. Self-government means that, selecting our own law-makers, we command them to apply for us our broad principles of equality and justice. Our chief duty, therefore, is to look well to the men we select, and watch well that they follow our principles. Our power is that we can discard them in the next election if they fail us.

That power of selecting and changing one's own rulers was long hampered in Virginia by an autocratic governor and council. Yet her Assembly of Burgesses secured to her people a lasting share of power. The colony was still to face many a dark struggle with evil and plundering royal officials; but from all of these it was to rise triumphant because of the Assembly.

Hence 1619 marks the beginning of our whole broad American system of Representative Government.

Jamestown Welcomes the Shipload of English Wives

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GROWTH OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

How the "Rights of Englishmen" Clashed with the "Divine Right" of Kings

(1619–1688)

I. AMERICA PROSPERED GREATLY UNDER SELF-GOVERNMENT. KINGLY GOVERNMENT BLUNDERED HERE AND IN ENGLAND

The story of the growth of the English colonies is a tale of resolute toil and rapidly increasing wealth. Soon however, trouble with the English government began. King James, you will recall, finally crushed the London Company and took Virginia under government control. James was followed on the English throne by his son and by two grandsons, these being the four "Stuart" kings of England. They asserted the old doctrine of "divine right," and so came into increasing quarrel with the treasured "rights of Englishmen" not only in America but, even more violently, in England. There, rebellion drove two of them from the throne.

These Stuart kings in their treatment of America were in most cases honest and well-meaning; but they were blind and careless. They might easily have preserved and fostered the loyalty which Elizabeth had aroused in all Englishmen. Instead, they too often thought of America chiefly as a place from which to get profit. They sent to the colonies "governors," some of whom were able and showed a sense of duty to America, but some of whom were court favorites who only came here to gather money to spend in England. If such governors displayed any

sense of duty it was toward their king not toward their colony.

England's colonies might thus have been reduced to the same weakness as was shown by the French and Spanish dominions here. From this, our ancestors were saved by those beginnings of self-government so early started here, and by that proud English sense of independence which is perhaps the richest inheritance of the American race.

Hence our story must now tell how the splendid loyalty of the first Virginians was thrown away by the Stuart kings. The England and America of those days were too widely separated by the ocean to understand each other. American loyalty gradually turned to distrust, to anger, and at length to desperate defiance.

2. RICHER SETTLERS CAME, AND POOR "BOUND SERVANTS"

After 1619, folk came from England in large numbers. In 1648, despite the heavy yearly toll of deaths, there were fifteen thousand people dwelling in Virginia. Most of these were still, like the first settlers, bold seekers after fortune and adventure; but many were well-to-do-folk who came that they might live in freedom, religious or political.

Two other notable classes of settlers also began to appear. One class was that of the "bound servants." These were the poor of England, the unemployed men and women from the farms. Hoping for better lives in America, they paid for their sea-passage by binding themselves to work for a number of years, for whatever Virginia master might buy their service. Even a man of rank sometimes thus bound himself, so as to escape from misfortune at home.

These bound servants or "bond-servants" were usually earnest and hard working. They came here to make homes. If they survived the terrible "marsh fever," they often won

their way to positions of comfort and respect. From them our people have inherited much of industry and patience.

3. ENGLAND'S SO-CALLED CRIMINALS WERE SENT TO AMERICA

Of large value also was that other class of immigrants, the so-called criminals. The demand for labor in the Virginia tobacco fields was so great that the English government began sending here its prisoners convicted of law-breaking.

These were most often young men driven desperate by starvation or unemployment. In Elizabeth's day such youths had joined the crews of Drake and Raleigh, and been the heroes of the nation. Now the warfare against the Spaniards had been stopped; and there were no arrangements such as we have today for finding work for the unemployed. In fact, there was no work to be done. England had no use for her young blood. She found it a relief to send these despairing lads to America; and America had need of them. Political "criminals" also were sent to the far-off colony, men who dared oppose the increasing tyranny of the Stuart kings.

The "criminals" sent here were treated much as the bound servants were. The English government sold them into service for a term of years. If they survived, they were free in free America. Thus from the very beginning our land offered an escape, though not an easy escape, from the frequent injustice of old feudal laws.

4. THE FIRST FREE AMERICAN SCHOOL WAS STARTED

Warned by England's mistakes with her youth, the English founders of America planned to prevent such blind ignorance over here. In Europe's older days, the only children who had been taught even to read or write

were those whose families paid well for the privilege. That earliest Virginia Assembly voted that a school was to be set up in every town.

The first school was actually started (1620) by the "Apostle of Virginia," the clergyman who had converted Pocahontas, Alexander Whittaker. He had already been trying to teach the Indian boys, and these were admitted to this first American school along with the white boys. There were no girl pupils; girls were supposed to get at home all the intellectual education they needed.

The next year the "Company" in England began collecting money for a "free public school." This was to be a school for higher training; and a college too was planned. Grounds were set apart; an English schoolmaster was sent over; and the school building was started. Then, in the Indian outbreak which came soon after, this new school was burned, and the master, George Thorpe, was slain.

The disaster proved a severe setback to American education in the South. The schools for children continued; but they taught little, and the poorer folk remained very ignorant. The wealthy hired private teachers for their children, or even sent them to Europe to be educated.

5. THE INDIANS ATTEMPTED TO DESTROY THE COLONY

In 1622 the whole situation of Virginia with regard to the Indians was changed. The old Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, had died; and his power passed to his brother Opechancano (ō pĕ chăn′ că nō′), the chief who had first captured John Smith. Opechancano had always been a foe to the whites, and now he planned to kill them all.

On a day named by him, the Indians, pretending their usual friendliness, visited their white friends in all the plantations. At the set moment of noontime, the visitors strove

each to slay his unsuspecting host. They then continued the work of murder everywhere. Jamestown was saved by the warning of a truly friendly Indian; but over three hundred and fifty colonists were thus suddenly slain.

The survivors turned with deadly fury on the redmen, killed all they could, drove the rest out of the colony far

A Late Colonial Mansion in Virginia

up into the hill lands, and for years waged bitter war against them. Never again did Indians and white men dwell near together as in the early Jamestown days. Not until our own day were Indian boys again taught with white boys in the same school.

6. VIRGINIA BECAME THE "KINGDOM OF VIRGINIA"

In 1624 King James accomplished what, as we have seen, he had been attempting for years. His law courts

abolished the London Company; although both the Company and the colonists protested vigorously.

Virginia now came directly under the ownership of the crown. It was called, the "King's Kingdom of Virginia." James had opposed the Company partly at least because of its support of self-government; yet he took no steps to stop this self-government in the colony itself.

Indeed he assured the Virginians that he had only abolished the Company for their good, and that he meant to give them a much better rule. The next year he died, with neither his promises nor their fears fulfilled.

7. A NEW KING, CHARLES, MENACED VIRGINIA'S FREEDOM

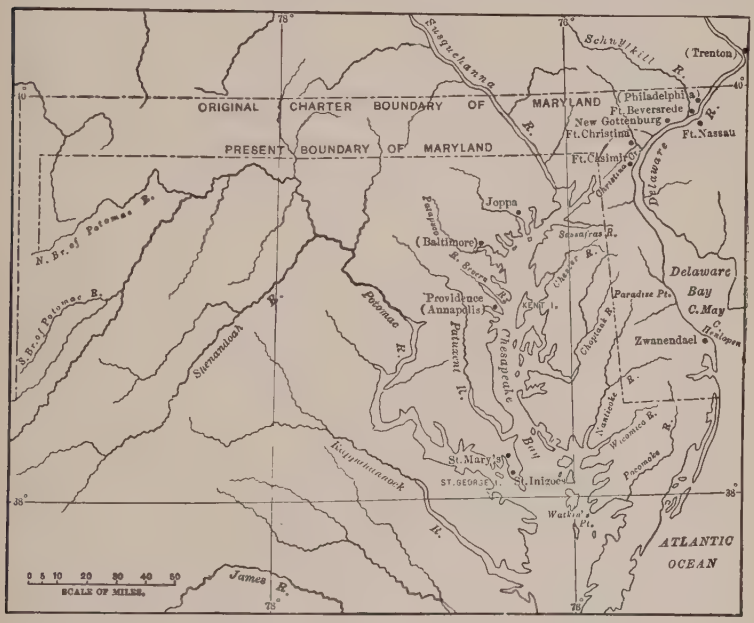
James' son, King Charles I, was soon so busy quarreling with his people in England he had little time to quarrel with America. King Charles did, however, two things which deeply offended the Virginians.

The first of these was the setting up of a second colony within Virginia's territory. He took away Virginia's northern part and made a gift of it to one of his friends, Lord Baltimore (1632). This was the beginning of the second of the southern colonies, Maryland.

By this time several of the more northern English colonies had been begun. The Dutch also were firmly established in what is now New York. The Virginians and their Company had not felt themselves robbed when other settlers secured such far off lands. Maryland was a different matter. Its land was clearly within Virginia's limits. A noted Virginia leader, William Claiborne, had already settled there (1631) at Kent Island in the Chesapeake. He was opening a very profitable fur trade with the Indians, and he meant to fight for his rights.

The Virginia Assembly, urged by Claiborne, protested

against this taking away of Virginia's land. King Charles placed the case before his own law court, which was dependent on him for its very existence. The submissive court upheld the king. It even went further. The judges said that by abolishing the London Company the king had wiped out all the rights that company had ever granted



Maryland and the Delaware Valley

to the colonists. Here was a menace that startled the Virginians. If no settler owned even the land he had bought of the company, then everything he had might be torn from him.

8. MARYLAND WAS MADE ALMOST A SEPARATE KINGDOM

The land which Charles had already snatched away, was made into a colony in some ways very unlike Virginia. In

the first place, it was given to its owner, Lord Baltimore, almost as an independent kingdom. He was to acknowledge the English kingship by presenting to the crown each year the fanciful rent of two arrowheads. The king was also to receive one-fifth of any precious metals found.

Except for this, Baltimore's ownership was absolute. He became a "Lord Palatine," that is, a great feudal lord, a viceroy. He was given the power to make and to enforce the laws for his colonists. He could even declare war in Maryland's name.

Maryland thus became a kingdom within a kingdom. The English government soon reasserted power over the colony; but in name, though not always in actual fact, Baltimore and his descendants continued its owners until the Revolution. In reality, the owners soon turned over most of the power of government to the colonists. An Assembly like that of Virginia was set up and became active in asserting the "Rights of Englishmen."

9. MARYLAND WAS PLANNED TO SHELTER ENGLISH CATHOLICS

Maryland's second and nobler claim to fame was that it was built to be a shelter from religious persecution. This shelter was at first intended for English Catholics; but it proved equally valuable to many another persecuted sect. Lord Baltimore was the head of the noted English, and previously Belgian, family of the Calverts. His own name was Cecil Calvert. He had clung to the Catholic faith despite all the suspicions and persecutions to which Catholics were subjected in Protestant England.

Cecil's father, the first Lord Baltimore, had been the chief Secretary of State of England. He had been converted to Catholicism, resigned his high office, and devoted himself to establishing a shelter for English Catholics in

America. He had even attempted this by leading a colony of his people to bleak Newfoundland. Their sufferings and his own drove him from that desolate coast, and he then visited Virginia and there outlined the plan for this new colony. His death left the family purpose for his son Cecil to carry through.

The name Maryland was in itself Catholic. It was given, as that of Virginia had been, to honor the queen upon the throne. This was now Mary, or Henrietta Marie, the French and Catholic wife of Charles. She took a warm interest in the colony named after her.

10. MARYLAND WAS BEGUN WISELY AND SUCCESSFULLY

The cost of building a far off colony at one man's expense had broken the great fortune of Raleigh fifty years before. Cecil Calvert managed it successfully. He sent out a big ship called the Ark and a tiny accompanying one, the Dove. Ark and Dove reached Maryland in March, 1634, bearing over two hundred colonists, women as well as men. They were commanded by Leonard Calvert, a younger brother of the "Lord Palatine."

These settlers were not all Catholics. Their leaders were; and their first act on landing was to raise a tall wooden cross and hold a Catholic church service. Many of the lesser colonists, however, were Protestants, and these were allowed to hold a separate service of their own.

Leonard Calvert proved a wise and able ruler. He made friends with the Indians. He purchased from them the site of a village they were about to abandon, and he thus secured for his people the immediate shelter of wigwams and palisades. More important still, he secured fields already cleared and fit for crops. These, his people at once planted. The settlement, which Calvert named St. Mary's, prospered from the start.

11. THE TWO COLONIES WERE AT FIRST SHARPLY OPPOSED

Calvert tried to make friends of the Virginians; but they distrusted him as a Catholic. They suspected him of being in secret plots with Spain against them, and they opposed him at every point. His claim to authority over the Virginian settlement of Claiborne on Kent Island led to endless quarrels. There were even sharp fights between opposing trading boats, and lives were thus lost in America's first little naval battles (1635).

The Indians actually got the idea that the new colonists were Spaniards; and the good will that Calvert had won from them turned for a while into fear. Claiborne was accused of having tried thus to bring the Indians to his side against the Marylanders; and it is clear that, to the anxious Protestants of Virginia, a Catholic and a Spaniard seemed much the same.

12. A KING'S GOVERNOR BEGAN TO PLUNDER VIRGINIA

A second step by King Charles angered Virginia far more deeply, and showed how little was to be hoped from kings who thought a kingdom was theirs by right. Charles began using the colony as his personal property.

First he sent out as governor one of the worst of his royal favorites, Sir John Harvey. The King trusted Harvey and refused to listen to any of the charges against him which the injured colonists sent to England.

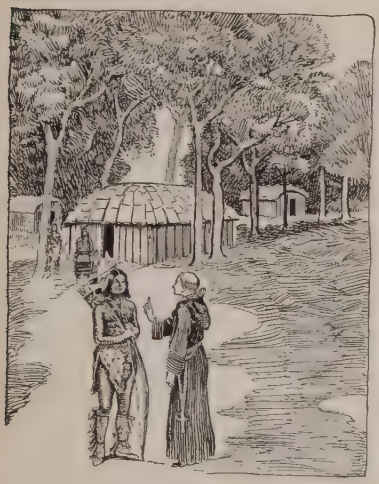
For five years (1630-1635) Governor Harvey plundered everyone he could. His robberies and his tyranny aroused the first American revolt against established government.

13. VIRGINIA RESISTED A ROYAL MONOPOLY ON TOBACCO

The revolt arose when King Charles tried to force the Virginia Assembly to grant him a "monopoly" on tobacco. This monopoly meant that all Virginia's tobacco was to be

sold to him at a set price, and he was then to sell it, or let his favorites sell it, at as much profit as they could. The Assembly repeatedly refused the grant, so Charles tried to seize it in spite of them.

At this, the Assembly drew up a solemn protest and presented it to Governor Harvey. He refused to forward



St. Mary's, Maryland, the First English Catholic Mission School in America

Huguenot and Cavalier in Charleston

the protest to King Charles. The assemblymen made angry speeches. Harvey arrested three of them, and threatened to hang them all as traitors. Instead they arrested him by force, and sent him as a prisoner to England to answer the many charges which they brought against him. This was gleefully called, in Virginia records, "the Thrusting Out of Sir John Harvey."

King Charles was furious that any one should have dared to defy his deputy, no matter for what cause. He refused even to hear the charges against Harvey, and sent him back

to be governor again. The colonists persisted in their protests; and at length Charles listened to them and dismissed Harvey. The latter had already begun a series of savage revenges against all the Virginians who had opposed him; but his cruelty was thus checked in time. Neither did Charles persist in grasping the tobacco monopoly.

14. ENGLAND ALSO REVOLTED AGAINST KING CHARLES

Virginia thus set an example of organized opposition to kingly tyranny. She opened a road which England itself was soon to follow. Charles's own Parliament defied him shortly afterward, and thereby brought on England's great civil war (1642).

This became partly a religious war. When a positive choice had to be made between King and Parliament, many of the English gentry, no matter what their religion, supported the King, to whom they had sworn loyalty. With them they brought their country tenants and many a stout "yeoman" or free farmer. Parliament's main support came from the cities, from the middle classes, and especially from the intensely earnest Protestant sect who were called the Puritans.

In the end Charles was defeated, overthrown, and finally executed (1649) by the more violent of his puritan subjects among whom Oliver Cromwell became the leader. That was the last, in England's history, of the old "divine right" kings. Later rulers admitted the authority of the Parliament and struggled only to control its members.

15. THIS REVOLUTION HAD ITS ECHOES IN AMERICA

England's civil war caused trouble in America also. When the war began, many Americans had still the old sense of loyalty to King Charles. Moreover the king had just sent to Virginia the man who for a time was the best

of her royal governors, Sir William Berkeley. Under Berkeley's wise liberality Virginia had prospered, and forgot her fear of kingly rule. The settlers, far removed from the excitement of England's war, felt that the rebels were going too far. Berkeley received popular support in each step he took to uphold the king.

King Charles I

Oliver Cromwell

There were some "Puritans" in Virginia, but Berkeley forbade them to make any speeches against King Charles. Three Puritan preachers who came from New England were compelled to return (1643). A large congregation of Puritans in southern Virginia were driven to seek shelter in Maryland with its religious toleration. There they settled its future capital and naval city, Annapolis (1649).

16. VIRGINIA QUICKLY WON A SECOND DEADLY INDIAN WAR

Virginia's unity and strength were further increased by her quick success in a second Indian war. In 1644, old Opechancano, the chief who had planned the first outbreak over twenty years before, tried again to surprise and wipe out the English, whom he so furiously hated.

The Indians crept down secretly from the distant hills to which they had been driven. They sprang with sudden ferocity upon the outer settlements, and slew some three hundred whites in the first unexpected attack. The deaths equalled in number the losses which had almost destroyed the colony in the earlier war; but the loss meant little to the strong colony of 1644. Soldiers swiftly checked and crushed the Indians. Opechancano was captured, and while in prison was slain, probably by an outraged soldier.

17. MARYLAND WAS HARRIED BY BOTH VIRGINIANS AND PIRATES

Maryland under its Catholic leaders upheld the cause of King Charles even more strongly than did Virginia. The disorders of the time led to a double attack upon the colony. One came from Maryland's old enemy Claiborne, who claimed to represent the king's party in Virginia, the other from a ship captain named Richard Ingle, part Puritan and part pirate, claiming to represent the Parliament. Ingle aided Claiborne in seizing Kent Island, and then seized St. Mary's for himself. He drove the governor, Leonard Calvert, to flee to Virginia.

For two years Ingle held control of most of Maryland, his men plundering the people at will. Then, with Virginian help from Governor Berkeley, Calvert returned and drove the pirates out, and Claiborne also. Those years remained known to Marylanders as the "plundering time."

18. MARYLAND CAME PARTLY UNDER A WOMAN'S CONTROL

Leonard Calvert died (1647), and for a time his colony was guided mainly by his kinswoman, Margaret Brent. She was the most noted woman of Maryland's early history. She helped restore the disrupted colony to order, and even found means to pay off the Virginia soldiers with whom

Calvert had regained his power. She demanded, as the nearest representative of the "Lord Palatine," the right to have a vote "and voice also" in the Maryland Assembly.

The shocked legislators refused her the vote, though apparently they were unable to bar the "voice." Mistress Brent used this voice to excellent effect in controlling their actions until the arrival of another governor.

In appointing this new governor, Lord Baltimore felt the need of keeping favor with the Parliament, now wholly victorious in England. So he appointed a wise and tolerant Virginia Protestant, William Stone (1648-1654). It was in Stone's day that Maryland passed her justly famous "Toleration Act."

19. MARYLAND ESTABLISHED RELIGIOUS TOLERATION BY LAW

By this time Maryland had become an asylum for the persecuted of many sects; and the Maryland Assembly thought it safer to establish by law the religious freedom which had been the purpose and custom of the colony from the start. In 1649, Lord Baltimore himself proposed, and Maryland enacted, the Toleration Act. This was the first definite legislative action toward that separation of religion and government, Church and State, which stands at the basis of all our American ideas of society.

The Maryland Toleration Act would seem narrow to us today. It was tremendously broadminded for its own age, a landmark on the road to freedom. It applied only to Christians. Whoever expressed a disbelief in Christ as the Son of God was to be put to death; but within that limit, the law forbade anyone to use offensive words which might insult the beliefs of another. Most important of all, it declared that no person should "from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect to his or her religion."

20. VIRGINIA BOLDLY PROCLAIMED CHARLES II AS ITS KING

The final steps in the great English Revolution roused a new echo in America. In Virginia the reaction against the actual killing of the king was intense. In defiance of the well known strength of Cromwell's army, Governor Berkeley and the Virginia Assembly united in declaring that the king's execution was both treason and murder. They named the dead king's son as king, at least in Virginia, under the title of Charles II.

Here again, America was voicing that persistent loyalty to old and tested ways which is characteristic of the English race. Eleven years later England took a similar step; after Cromwell's death, the English Parliament invited Charles II to accept his father's crown (1660).

When Charles did so, he honored little Virginia's bold stand for him by placing her shield upon his royal coat of arms by the side of the shields of his European kingdoms, Scotland, Ireland and so on. Among these royal dominions, Virginia was referred to as the "Old Dominion." That State name she has borne proudly ever since.

21. ROYALISTS AND PURITANS AGAIN CLASHED IN AMERICA

Before Charles II thus came to power, there was much to happen in America. When the royal cause had seemed hopelessly crushed, many of its most loyal supporters had emigrated to Virginia. These were the "Cavaliers of Virginia." They brought with them the manners and the high traditions of the English gentry. From them sprang the Washingtons, Marshalls, Madisons, Randolphs, Lees and a host of other leaders of America.

So notable was the royalist spirit of Virginia, that Cromwell sent over a strong fleet to compel her obedience (1652). In the face of its overwhelming force the Vir-

ginians accepted a Puritan government. Governor Berkeley resigned his office. No arrests were made; no punishments inflicted. Berkeley retired with a charming young bride to his handsome Virginian estate called Green Spring. There he lived at peace, with his "four thousand fruit trees."

In fact Virginia enjoyed under Cromwell a far more real freedom than she had enjoyed under the king. Her leaders' devotion to royalty was a matter of the feelings. Practically, they could not help but realize they were much better off under Cromwell.

22. IN MARYLAND THE CONTEST CAUSED ACTUAL BATTLE

The trouble caused in Maryland by Cromwell's fleet was more serious. Among the officials Cromwell had sent over was her old enemy, Claiborne. Stone, the Protestant governor of Maryland, willingly pledged obedience to the Parliament. Yet as soon as opportunity offered, Claiborne forced him out of office (1654), and turned over the control of Maryland to those Puritans who had lately fled there for refuge.

These Puritans took prompt advantage of their power; they withdrew the famous Toleration Act which had protected them. They then began a persecution of the Catholics and indeed of all religious sects outside their own. Theirs was a fighting religion.

This was not at all what Cromwell had intended. He had assured Lord Baltimore that the latter's control over Maryland should not be upset. So Baltimore sent word to Governor Stone to reassert his authority. Stone endeavored to do this by force, leading a little army of a hundred and thirty men against the Puritans in Annapolis. The Puritan forces outnumbered Stone's army almost two to one; and

they surprised and defeated him in what was called the Battle of Severn River (1655). Stone was sorely wounded; many of his men were slain; and four were afterward hanged.

23. CROMWELL SAVED MARYLAND'S TOLERATION LAW

England's war had thus brought slaughter also to America. Two years later Cromwell insisted on the return of the colony to its owners, and Claiborne and Lord Baltimore came to an agreement. Claiborne surrendered his Kent Island property forever, and received in return large land grants elsewhere. Lord Baltimore was required, for his part, to pardon the Puritans who had seized his colony and hanged his people.

Baltimore also promised to maintain his Toleration Act so as still to include a welcome to the Puritans, along with other Christians. Scarcely one tenth of the settlers in Maryland were Catholics then or ever afterward. The colony thus became what all thoughtful men, whether Catholic or Puritan, had wished it to be, a place of shelter for honest folk of whatsoever religious sect.

24. THE COLONIES SUFFERED UNDER THE RULE OF CHARLES II

With 1660 and the placing of Charles II upon England's throne, Maryland was restored to a lasting peace. Charles, who was sometimes accused of being a secret Catholic, left Baltimore and his heirs in full control there. Virginia also rejoiced at the king's success—at first. She summoned Governor Berkeley from retirement and replaced him in power.

Yet the enthusiasm of even the most loyal Cavaliers in America gradually cooled. A period of increasing friction

with England began. Colonies were then a new thing to European governments, and nobody knew exactly how to handle them. No government would today treat a colony as America was treated.

In the first place, the English Parliament assumed that it had full power to make laws for America, whatever laws it saw fit. Usually these laws were intended to benefit the colonists; but always the first idea was to help England—and England's trade. England was at this time forcing her way to her place as the chief trading Power of the world; and her Parliament was guided largely by the demands of her merchants. The colonies were therefore chiefly considered as sources of commercial profit.

As for the new king, he wanted, quite frankly, to make money from America. He could not easily get money from England any more; folk there were now united in upholding their own rights in Parliament. America was weak and might be compelled to pay.

25. CHARLES HELPED HIS FAVORITES TO PROFIT FROM AMERICA

The king sought to profit from the colonies by selling privileges here. He made grants to his favorites, giving them lands all over America. Often these lands were already occupied by settlers who had cleared away the forest, built upon the land, and made it valuable. In 1673 the king actually granted some property rights over the whole of Virginia to two courtiers, so that they could squeeze from the colony a little extra money.

The outcry of protest against this grant was so vehement that Charles withdrew it. He found, however, many other ways to make the colonies support his favorites. An appointment as governor over an American colony became an established form of gift to some needy nobleman.

King Charles seems never to have realized that other people existed, except when they in some way added to his pleasure. Of the rights of other folk, especially of distant Americans, he had no thought whatever.

26. PARLIAMENT TRIED TO CONTROL AMERICAN TRADE. THE NAVIGATION LAWS REDUCED VIRGINIA TO POVERTY

The colonies' trouble with Parliament was even more serious. Twenty years earlier, before the English Revolution began, the colonies had been too small to be considered as a source of government income. Now, however, both Virginia and Maryland, and also the New England colonies, were large and prosperous. Their own ships began to cross the seas. Their trade, especially with Holland, was considerable. Their exports, not only of tobacco but of furs, fish and grain, might be made very profitable to an overlord who could tax them at will.

The right to tax the colonies had been asserted by Parliament some years before, but had been denied by the Virginia Assembly and had not been enforced. Now in 1660, Parliament passed a new "Navigation Act," which aimed chiefly to capture the Holland trade. The Navigation Acts were supposed to help the colonies, in that England was to purchase tobacco and some lesser imports solely from them. Practically, however, these Acts barred the colonies from trade with any other land than England, and compelled them to accept whatever prices were set by the English.

These Acts hurt America severely. In Virginia tobacco fell to a mere shadow of its former value. The whole colony was in acute distress. A leading colonist wrote (1667) that only three influences prevented a general rebellion, "namely, faith in the mercy of God, loyalty to the king, and affection for the government."

The two latter influences could not long survive this kingly and parliamentary ill-treatment.

27. CAROLINA WAS MADE A NEW "PALATINATE"

One fortunate thing the selfish King Charles II did for our southern States. He granted (1663) all the unsettled

The Carolinas and Georgia

region of southern Virginia, extending south as far as Florida, to a group of eight courtiers. Included among these, was the staunchly loyal Virginia governor, Berkeley. From this grant sprang the colonies of North and South Carolina. The king named the region of the grant Carolina, which was a Latin form of his own name Charles. He explained that he did this not for himself but in honor of his father.

The vast region thus presented to its "Eight Lords" had remained empty through fear of the Spaniards. In earlier

years they would certainly have attacked any colony planted there. Now their nation had become too exhausted to threaten much danger.

Hence, a large new movement began. Our infant states were gradually extended far southward at the expense of Spain. This was the first definite step in that expansion of English-America which has given us our vast country of today.

28. NORTH CAROLINA WAS SETTLED BY VIRGINIA PIONEERS

Before Carolina was created, a few settlers moving southward from Virginia had entered what is now North Carolina. They came not by sea but by land. In 1653, a fairly numerous band had thus crossed the forests and bayous and settled along Albemarle Sound. They were protected from a Spanish sea attack by Cape Hatteras and all the shoals and sand bars of that dangerous coast.

These settlers were now summoned to accept the rule of the "Eight Lords." A governor was sent overland to them from Virginia; but the effort to take them under control was not very successful. The men of Albemarle had lived for over ten years in complete freedom, and they had no longer any awed respect for a king and his command. They knew they were too far away to be reached by force. They accepted only such laws as they themselves approved.

They formed a legislature of their own. They declared that newcomers among them need pay no taxes for two years, and could not be sued or imprisoned for any debts made before they entered the colony. Imprisonment for debt was then the common English law, so this step of Carolina's seemed very revolutionary. Men in trouble in Virginia fled to this freer land.

29. IT REMAINED A NOTABLY DEMOCRATIC COLONY

North Carolina was thus in a sense our first frontier land. It was a settlement made not from England but by wanderers from another colony, men who found Virginia too settled and too smothered by repressive laws. By degrees the men of Albemarle accepted some control from England; but their region long remained a wild, half-settled and somewhat reckless land.

Once (1677) the appointed governor tried to enforce an unpleasant English law, so the settlers arrested him, put him in jail, and ran their own government for two years. When complaints finally reached England, they sent deputies to explain; and the statements made by the two parties were so contradictory that no one in England could tell what had really happened.

Right down to the American Revolution, North Carolina retained an unusual amount of the democratic equality and freedom which characterized its origin. It did not, however, win as much financial prosperity as most of the English colonies.

30. SOUTH CAROLINA WAS SETTLED BY DIVERSE PEOPLES

Farther south, where the sea gave easier approach to the shore, the Eight Lords made several efforts to start Carolina settlements of their own. These met little success, until some English planters, already settled in England's West India islands, became interested in the new region. Trouble with both Spain and England had made their island plantations unsuccessful, and the Eight Lords offered them a larger freedom and opportunity.

So under the lead of Sir John Yeamans, several of these West India gentlemen, each with his family and his servants and his slaves, making a body of several hundred in all,

moved over to southern Carolina (1665). A shipload of colonists direct from England came to the present region of Charleston in 1670. Ten years later Charleston itself was founded and made the capital of what began to be called South Carolina, to separate it from the very different district farther north.

South Carolina was not, however, settled wholly by Englishmen. Religious persecution had again flared out against Protestants in France. Thousands of Huguenots were driven from their homeland to find shelter wherever they could. Many came to America; some to Maryland with its promised asylum, some to New York where different races and faiths already mingled, some to New England, and many to Carolina with memories of the earlier Huguenot colony there. These brave and industrious people proved a help wherever they settled.

The original grant to the Eight Lords permitted them to welcome settlers not of the English church. The freedom of such folk was only limited by a warning "they behaving themselves peaceably, and not using this liberty to licentiousness." Under this condition Carolina became a shelter for many exiles. German Protestants came there. Some Dutch moved there when they lost control of New York; and a colony of Scotch folk was begun in the far south.

31. SPANIARDS AND PIRATES THREATENED SOUTH CAROLINA

This Scotch colony came so near to St. Augustine that the Spaniards there regarded it as a direct defiance. In a sudden raid they destroyed it, slaying many of the unhappy settlers and carrying off the rest (1683). The Charleston folk gathered a force of four hundred men to take vengeance on the Spaniards by attacking St. Augustine itself; but the Eight Lords forbade this. They were unwilling to

start open war with Spain. By diplomatic methods they secured the freedom of the surviving Scotchmen.

Shortly after this a Spanish fleet came against Charleston, but withdrew on finding the town all prepared and too strong for attack. Thereafter a wide strip of wilderness, occupied only by the Indians, was left unused between Carolina and Florida. This was the future Georgia.

A Carolina Medal, Made in 1694

Carolina was also threatened by the pirates of the "Spanish Main." These were so powerful that until after 1700 they sometimes visited Charleston and the other settlements almost openly. The colonists permitted these visits of wild and perhaps unknown seamen partly for profit, partly from fear. The strangers sold their plunder cheaply and spent their money recklessly, carousing in the streets and terrifying the people.

32. IT PROSPERED AND BECAME THE CHIEF SLAVE COLONY

Wealth came to South Carolina from many sources. Among these was the slave trade in both negroes and Indians. One armed force after another marched against the nearer Indian tribes, destroyed their villages and carried off all captives to be sold as slaves. There was always an excuse; the Indians, urged on by Spain, were threatening

attack. Yet the Charleston leaders were openly accused of encouraging these attacks for the profits from the slaves.

The colony became prosperous. It grew to resemble one of the semi-tropical West India settlements, from which so many of its people had come. Rice was the most profitable crop in these marshy southern lands; and rice could only be grown by negroes, who could withstand the fevers of the marshes. Hence South Carolina became the chief center of negro slavery. The blacks there far outnumbered the whites.

An aristocracy was thus created of the large land-owners. A white man who held no slaves and was compelled to work for himself with his own hands was regarded as being of a lower class. Charleston thus developed into the capital of a "class conscious" gentry. While North Carolina was among the most democratic of all the colonies, South Carolina became the most aristocratic.

33. VIRGINIA LOST ALMOST ALL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The repressive rule of Charles II caused increasing discontent in all the colonies, and especially in Virgina. Governor Berkeley, as he grew old, grew stern and narrow. Instead of aiding the colonists as at first by a real devotion to the public good, he followed the example of his king and became a scheming tyrant. His deeds were selfish and cruel.

In the heat of royalist enthusiasm in 1660, the Virginians had elected an extremely "loyal" Assembly. Berkeley, well satisfied with this Assembly, kept it in power for years. He refused to call any new election, and he weeded out all members who opposed him. Thus, by degrees, the Assembly ceased wholly to represent the colonists or to govern for their good.

The people grew bitter. Each new oppressive law from

England was upheld by Berkeley and his Assembly, except when it conflicted with their personal wishes. Then, through their influence in England and their admired "loyalty," they got the law changed to suit them.

34. VIRGINIA FLAMED INTO REVOLT UNDER NATHANIEL BACON

The people's anger broke into open revolt in 1676. The immediate cause of this was a new Indian outbreak. The Susquehanna Indians, a powerful tribe along the river named for them, had been driven southward by the terrible Iroquois Indians, and began ravaging Virginia's frontiers. Massacres grew so frequent that thirty-five deaths were reported in one week.

Yet Berkeley refused to send a force against the Susquehannas. He declared they had some right on their side, having been injured by white men. This was true but was no reason for allowing them to continue slaying wholly innocent settlers. The people charged that Berkeley protected the Indians because of the rich fur trade by which he and his friends prospered.

Repeatedly the outraged settlers demanded to be led against the Susquehannas. Finally in desperate fury a young lawyer of the upper classes, Nathaniel Bacon, led a volunteer force to the frontier without an order from the governor. Bacon's army quickly and completely crushed the Indians.

At this Berkeley became obstinately furious. He declared Bacon a rebel and sought to hang him. Many of the leading men of the colony sided with young Bacon. He tried in every way to make peace with the governor, but in vain. So Bacon was driven to attempt to depose Berkeley, to "thrust him out" as Sir John Harvey had been thrust. Bacon marched his eager and devoted followers upon Jamestown.

Berkeley, after a weak battle of defense, fled. Yet from a distance he continued his defiance.

35. BACON DIED AND HIS REVOLT WAS CRUSHED

By this time the struggle had become deadly. It was obvious that King Charles would support the "loyal" Berkeley with ships and soldiers if necessary. He might listen to complaints afterward; but first he would put Berkeley back in power. And that meant instant flight or dishonored death for Bacon and his friends. Bacon began talking of a war against England itself, of defying the English troops, at least until time could be found to explain all to the king. He even spoke of drawing Maryland and the Carolinas into this resistance, though they of course had no quarrel with the Virginia governor.

Alarmed at this spreading of Bacon's plans, many of his chief followers deserted him. They had been determined to fight Berkeley; but they were very loyal to England. As a first step toward wider war, Bacon burned Jamestown. He then planned the capture of Berkeley, and the complete destruction of his power. But Bacon himself caught the marsh fever at unhealthful Jamestown, and died. His followers scattered. They had been held together only by his fiery energy.

Berkeley, coming back into control, seized all of Bacon's chief supporters whom he could catch, and hanged them one after another, until King Charles stopped him and removed him from office. "The old fool," said the disgusted king, "has put to death more people in that naked country, than I in England for the murder of my father."

36. THIS FIRST APPEAL TO ARMS WAS BLIND AND RECKLESS

Bacon's revolt has often been called the forerunner of the American Revolution. Its character should therefore

be clearly understood. While its immediate necessity was forced upon the people by the Indian attacks, it was encouraged by the ever rising discontent with the governor's trickery, with England's oppressive laws, and with the resulting poverty and suffering. Hence Bacon's main support was among the poor, who had suffered most. But the poor in Virginia were also the ignorant and unthinking. Education had made little progress among them. There was small intelligence in their support of Bacon, though their wrongs fully justified revolt.

The abler, more intelligent Virginians felt the justice and even necessity of Bacon's first steps, and supported these. Yet they saw plainly that they would finally have to submit their every act to the king's judgment and decision. They sought to make against the governor only such moves as were absolutely necessary for self-preservation. They still had faith that in the end the "Rights of Englishmen" would protect them against him.

Bacon, growing enraged and desperate, and perhaps fever smitten in his last days, became finally a mere instrument of destruction, tearing down with no hope of building up, reckless of the colony's good as of his own. The heedless mob who followed him to the end kept shouting, "Now we shall have no more taxes!" "No more laws!" Not by such poor ignorance can democracy be upheld.

These unhappy followers of Bacon did not even know that law was their one security and defence, that without law folk can not live together in society, and that law can only exist with taxes to support it. The men of our Revolution in 1776 were of a type far different. They were clear and earnest thinkers. They took each step toward rebellion steadfastly, because they felt they must. They took no steps madly, in unthinking ignorance and blind passion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND

A Tale of the High Value of a Firm Religious Faith

(1620–1630)

1. NEW ENGLAND WAS FOUNDED BY FOLK ALREADY IN REVOLT

Our southern States, as we have seen, were founded by men still devoted to the English king. They had been bred in the old Elizabethan tradition that a monarch was not a man, but an ideal to worship, that he stood as a symbol representing that love of one's own country for which men gladly fought and died. The revolt of these loyal cavaliers was forced upon them. It sprang from many years of repeated injustices.

New England, on the contrary, was founded by folk who had already faced in England the severity of tyranny. When they came here, they had already begun to believe at heart in a republic. They were of that resolute Puritan type which in England itself a few years later began the great Cromwell revolt against the Stuart kings. In a republic we pledge our loyalty not to a man, for men change; but to a nation, a faith, a mission: that is, to an ideal which remains shining beyond all changes.

2. SETTLEMENT HERE WAS FIRST ATTEMPTED BY MERCHANTS

The Puritans were not the first to attempt the settlement of New England; but they were the first who decisively succeeded in the attempt. One of the sections of the original Virginia Company was called the Plymouth Company. This was because several of the leaders were mer-

chants and seamen of the naval port of Plymouth, an old fortress city which had long defended England's southern shore.

To this company King James I granted the sole right of trade and settlement along the northern half of our coast (1606). With a large sense of the importance of the work they were undertaking, the Plymouth men named their land a "New" England.

The most active member of this company was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the military Governor of Plymouth. For forty years, Gorges devoted all the energy and enthusiasm of his gallant Elizabethan spirit to the settlement of New England. But not by daring soldiers, nor even by patient practical merchants, could New England be made the deeply religious land she was to become. Gorges died an aged, disappointed man. He had seen friends perish and fortunes disappear in his long and unsuccessful struggle against the many dreary difficulties of settlement in the wild new land.

3. COLD AND STARVATION RUINED THE FIRST COLONIES

Even in Elizabeth's day there had been, as you will recall, trading voyages along this New England coast, and fishermen's huts on the shores of Maine and Newfoundland. Now, in the same year that Jamestown was founded (1607), Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent out an expedition which began a colony near Pemaquid, a spot at the mouth of the Kennebec river in Maine.

The difficulty with this, as with most of the attempted settlements in New England, was the failure to allow for differences of climate. As the English landed on our coast in regions much further south than their own island, they expected to find greater warmth. But our northern States,

while warmer than Britain in summer, are much colder in winter. The English were slow to realize our wider range of climate, and slow to meet it. At first the New England winters took as heavy a toll of death as did the marsh fevers of Virginia and Carolina.

That was what happened to the Pemaquid colony. Its crops failed, and half of its people died. Others went off to the fisheries; others returned to England in despair. The huts remained as mere fisherman shelters, with no farms nor settlers of their own.

4. SMITH EXPLORED THE COAST BUT FAILED AT SETTLEMENT

Gorges sent out other expeditions; but no large or permanent settlement resulted from any of these early efforts. The stern threat of the hard winters was too terrifying. The lure of more comfortable living elsewhere was too strong.

Once John Smith, of Virginia fame, offered his services to the Plymouth Company. He was made "Admiral of New England" and explored its coast (1614), giving to many of its capes and bays the names which they still hold. But even John Smith failed at colonizing here. He is said to have sent a ship for that purpose as a private venture; but the ship was captured by the pirates who lay always in wait among the Spanish islands.

Finally the Plymouth Company abandoned its efforts. It was replaced by a government "Council of New England," in which Gorges continued as the most active member.

5. THE PILGRIMS CAME HERE UPHELD BY RELIGIOUS FAITH

Then came the "landing of the Pilgrims" in 1620. These Pilgrims were the first true settlers of New England. They

THE FIRST "THANKSGIVING" OF THE PILGRIMS

© J. L. G. Ferris

THE FIRST "THANKSGIVING" OF THE PILGRIMS

Our National annual holiday of Thanksgiving was started among us by the Pilgrims of Plymouth in November of 1621. When after their first terrible year of suffering they had at last gathered in their crops and saw their food and shelter assured for the winter, they held a solemn religious ceremony of thanksgiving to God. They followed their prayers with feasting on the good food they now held bounteously in store; and to this, their first "party," they invited their Indian friends, the chief Massasoit and his followers.

The feast was held in the open air and consisted of big bowls of hasty pudding and clam chowder. There were also plenty of turnips and popped corn and meats, and probably, though we have no positive assurance of the fact, wild turkey was among the meats. All the surviving Pilgrims were on hand, Elder Bradford, Captain Standish, the fair maid Priscilla and her wooer John Alden. We have even a romantic tradition that Priscilla managed and served the feast.

were a company of "Separatists," which means they were Puritans who so disapproved of the church ideas of other Englishmen that they separated from the others, refused to live with them, and set up a little religious community of their own.

All governments, in those days, assumed some control over their subjects' religion. King James I was particularly active in compelling religious submission. He declared that he would "harry" from his kingdom all who failed to obey. To escape him this particular group of Separatists moved to Holland; but after a dozen years there they found their children were growing up as Dutch folk rather than English. This was a severe shock, for they still loved their English nation.

They wanted to preserve both English morality and English freedom; and they knew that *no man can be free by himself*. Our bodily freedom we can hold only by dwelling under some government which has both the will and the power to aid us. These Separatists wanted England's protection, but they were sternly resolved to have freedom of the spirit also. They meant to cling to their religion in defiance of all the power of England. Hence in desperation they adopted the daring scheme of moving their little community to America.

6. MANY OBSTACLES DELAYED THEIR START

They feared America for many reasons. They knew all about Jamestown's sufferings, all about the failure of Gorges' various attempts. English stories of the time pictured the Indians as monsters torturing and devouring the whites. Neither had this little company any trust in King James or in any charter of settlement he might grant them. They had suffered too cruelly from his falsities be-

fore. Their only hope was that in America they would be too distant for him to watch or even to remember. So they resolved to risk the dangers of the wilderness.

They were poor and had to secure help by promising to work for some English merchants. To get the money necessary for their voyage and supplies, they had to pledge almost all their labor and profits in America. They were thus, to some extent, led into a "common property" system like that which had hampered Jamestown's first years.

Some of their comrades were still in England, so they hired two ships, one of which brought the Holland group to England. There the two ships met at Plymouth and set sail for America; but on the rough Atlantic, the Holland ship proved so leaky that the two had to turn back together.

7. AFTER LONG EFFORT THEY REACHED AMERICA IN WINTER

As soon as the little company found themselves safely back in Plymouth, they hastened to try the voyage again. They crowded as many of their number as they could on board their one stout English ship, the Mayflower. To make more space the voyagers left behind all of their goods that they could possibly spare. Then in their one overloaded ship, carrying only bare necessities, they once more set forth upon the harsh Atlantic. They were still resolute despite all misfortunes. Their high faith kept them undismayed.

The "Pilgrims," as they began to call themselves because of their long journeyings for religion, had a hard and stormy voyage. When at length the American coast rose before them, the year had slipped away into late November. The many weary delays had brought to them a new danger. The winter was upon them.

Their permission to plant a settlement had come from the old London Company of Virginia, and they had expected to land somewhere in Virginia's territory. Their hired ship-captain, however, first reached land on the coast of what is now Massachusetts; and so long and drear had

The Pilgrims Leaving Holland

been the voyage, so threatening was the winter, and so dangerous was the sea-passage along the coast, that the Pilgrims resolved to go no further. They accepted this landing place as having been set for them by Providence.

8. THE "MAYFLOWER COMPACT" STARTED A NEW DEMOCRACY

Being outside the Virginia territory, the Pilgrims felt themselves under no government nor control except their own. Hence, before leaving their ship, they drew up among

themselves a contract by which they agreed to CREATE and to OBEY a government of their own. This government was to aim always at righteousness and the common good. Each man of the congregation signed this famous "Mayflower Compact."

This was the first time recorded in history that a free people had thus freely framed for themselves an equal, and therefore democratic, government. The Mayflower Compact was a government created by the people who were to live under it, deriving its power only and wholly from "the consent of the governed." That is our American theory of what a government should be.

The Compact opens with the words, "In the name of God, Amen." It then declares that its signers, "loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James," do "solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another covenant and combine ourselves into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation." It agrees that "just and equal laws" shall be made as needed, "unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Thus solemnly, feeling themselves under the eye of the Almighty, they pledged their faith to one another.

9. THE PILGRIMS WERE FAMILY FOLK NOT ADVENTURERS

We must pause to consider the peculiar position and high courage of this little band who thus started for us our "government by the people." The Mayflower, beside its hired seamen, carried a hundred and two colonists. Among these there were eighteen women and over thirty children. No colonizing party had ever before been so made up of entire families.

Moreover, these were not professional adventurers, rovers, explorers. The women were quiet, earnest house-

The Prayer on the Mayflower at leaving England

wives. The men were most of them hard-working artisans or farmers. So ignorant were they of hunting and fishing, and even of all military training, that not one of those who came from Holland had known how to load and fire a gun.

In England they secured a "professional soldier" to go with them and teach them how to defend themselves against the dreaded Indians. This Puritan soldier was Captain Miles Standish. He was a man often ridiculed by opponents for his lack of height, but so sturdy and energetic that he proved a most valuable military leader for the Pilgrims.

10. THEY WERE DETERMINED TO PERSIST EVEN UNTO DEATH

For this little band of unwarlike innocents to venture into the American wilderness with women and children seemed an undertaking even more desperate and dangerous than that of the vigorous and warlike youths who had started the Virginia settlement.

In some ways, however, the Pilgrims had the fundamental qualifications for colonists of an unknown land. They were firmly earnest; they had come to make homes and to stay. They were accustomed to thinking for themselves, unafraid of death, and upheld by an unyielding faith in God's guidance and love.

Moreover these steadfast folk had no quarreling factions among themselves and no extravagant visions of America. They had no such hopes of sudden wealth as had lured earlier colonists away from needful work. Yet to land thus on the bleak, unknown shore in the dead of winter was a fearful test of the Pilgrims' courage. It must have been hard indeed for the fathers of families, ten times harder for the mothers, the devoted eighteen women who accompanied them.

11. THEY SETTLED AT PLYMOUTH AND BEGAN NEW ENGLAND

After a month of searching for a suitable place to settle, the Pilgrims selected a harbor which John Smith on his exploring voyage had named Plymouth. This was also the name of the port from which they had sailed, and of the company on whose lands they were thus settling without permission. So they kept the name and afterward secured from Gorges' "Council of New England" permission to use both the name and the place.

Meanwhile, alone, unfriended, unchartered, trusting wholly in themselves and their faith, they landed upon "Plymouth Rock" (December, 1620), and began the building of that rock of American strength, old Puritan New England.

12. MANY DIED IN THE FIRST WINTER

That first winter was a mild one for New England. Its mildness may indeed have misled the Pilgrims; for they attempted labors unfitted to the season. They were very honestly determined to carry out the agreement which pledged them to work for the merchants who had advanced them money, and they overworked in storm and wet. Some form of lung trouble, either pneumonia or consumption, spread swiftly among them; and half of them died before the coming of May.

Fourteen of the eighteen "mothers" died. The disease was particularly fatal to the older folk, the former leaders of the congregation. Most of these fell its victims. Plymouth became markedly a settlement of young folk, young but as earnestly religious as their parents.

Not one of the survivors lost faith or courage. Any who wished could have gone back with the Mayflower when she

was sent back that Spring to bring over the rest of their "Separatist" congregation. But not one Pilgrim returned with her. Neither did the word of their sufferings prevent their church-members from joining them. Only a few could come at a time, for the voyage was costly; but within the next ten years all who remained of their former fellowship were reunited in the Plymouth colony.

13. WILLIAM BRADFORD BECAME THEIR LEADER AND HISTORIAN

John Carver, the leader whom they had chosen as Governor at the start, died in that first tragic sickness. The story of Plymouth thereafter centers on his successor, William Bradford. Bradford was only thirty-one years old, one of that younger generation which found itself suddenly called to power. He had not been one of the Pilgrim leaders in Holland; but the new needs of the new land brought him forward.

He was a shrewd and observant man; and in later years he wrote an account of his colony and the way he had managed it, just as Smith had written of Virginia. In this record Bradford tells how a Virginian shipload of supplies saved the little colony from starvation. Bradford's brave and noble tale is one of the books every American should know.

Bradford stands as one of our strongest figures of both practical and spiritual excellence. He was energetic and determined, with a velvet glove softening the hand of steel. He sought and won friends for himself and Plymouth. Until his death over thirty years later, he was each year reelected governor by his comrades, except for a few scattered years of quiet when at his own entreaty they allowed him a needed rest.

"Welcome Englishmen!"

Samoset, the first Indian seen by the Pilgrims, welcomed them with these words learned from the fishermen and traders

14. THE NEARER INDIANS WELCOMED AND AIDED THEM

The danger the Pilgrims had looked forward to with most dread was from the Indians. But a deadly plague had lately swept over this region and almost wiped out its Indian population (1616). The remaining redmen thought the deaths had come as a punishment for their cruelty to earlier white men; so they were now eager to make friends with the "white man's god."

Hence, in such English as a few had learned from the fishermen or from voyages on English ships, the Indians welcomed the Plymouth colony. An Indian named Squanto told the Pilgrims he was the only survivor of a tribe which had held their lands. They let him live among them, and he became their true friend. He directed their dealings with the other Indians, and he taught the whites the redman's knowledge of the country.

Thus the Indians whom they had so feared proved a help to them instead. From Squanto the Pilgrims learned at once the very different methods of farming which were necessary under the new climate. In the fall of 1621, they gathered their first harvest and then held a feast of Thanksgiving. This was the start of our annual Thanksgiving Day.

15. BRADFORD OVERAWED THE OTHER INDIAN TRIBES

Squanto brought to Plymouth the chieftain or head sachem of the remaining Indians of the Plymouth region. This was Massasoit, a leader wiser than most of his people. He realized the superior strength of the white race, and made a peace treaty with the Pilgrims which lasted over fifty years. They dealt with him fairly, and he returned this by warning them when other Indians plotted against them.

At that time the most powerful tribe in New England were the Narragansetts, who dwelt around what is now Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island. The treaty with their rival, Massasoit, angered them, and they sent the Pilgrims a threat of war.

Squanto Teaching the Pilgrims How to Fertilize Their Planting

A stealthy Indian messenger tossed into the Plymouth stockade a bundle of arrows bound with a rattlesnake's skin. Governor Bradford sent the snakeskin back filled with powder and shot, and Captain Standish began drilling the men for war. The Narragansetts, however, were awed by the bold defiance of the little band of whites and by their mysterious weapons, and carried the war threat no further.

16. HARD WORK MADE THE PILGRIMS OWNERS OF THE COLONY

The Pilgrims had a long struggle against uncertain crops and poor supplies. At the start, under the pressure of their merchant owners, they tilled their land and kept their food in common. Bradford soon found that the system discouraged extra labor and failed to encourage the frugality so necessary to each settler. After two years of trial this "communism" was abandoned. When each family worked on its own land prosperity came more rapidly.

By steadfast toil, the colonists paid off their debt to the English merchants. They even managed to buy outright the grant of the lands on which they had at first been but intruders. Their money for this came partly from the fish and fur trades, but even more from their sale of farm products to the fishers, traders and later settlers in New England.

17. THE PILGRIMS HAD SERIOUS TROUBLE WITH OUTSIDERS

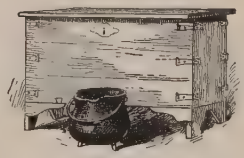
After the colony was well-established, the Pilgrims had repeated trouble with outsiders. Other white men sought to join the colony and then to snatch control of it from the Pilgrims. In such difficulties and indeed in all armed dispute, Bradford and his people had usually the upper hand, for they were united, honest and determined. A band of over sixty men sent out to them by their merchant creditors in 1623 were found to be "loose livers." When these new-comers protested against the strict Pilgrim laws, they were promptly sent to live by themselves and form their own settlement across the bay.

These new settlers neglected work and ill-treated the Indians. As a result the Indians, not Massasoit's people but some tribes from northern New England, formed a plot

to slay their insulters and all the other white folk as well. Governor Bradford was warned by Massasoit, and sent Standish with a mere handful of the ill-trained but firm-hearted Pilgrims to check the plot.

Marching boldly among the unready Indians, Standish in single combat, hand to hand, slew two giant redmen who had mocked his littleness. He and his men then arrested the other overawed Indian leaders. Afterward Standish marched to the offending white settlement, and punished the Indians' oppressors also.

The Original "Plymouth Rock"



Elder Brewster's Chest
Miles Standish's Kettle

18. EVIL TRADERS GAVE THE INDIANS GUNS AND LIQUOR

By this time, there were several traders setting up trade posts along the New England coast. Some of these caused evil consequences for future generations. A typical trade post of this sort was set up by Thomas Morton and called Merrymount. Here Morton deeply shocked the Pilgrims by erecting a Maypole, around which he and his men danced with the Indian squaws.

Morton also won the Indians' favor by giving them in trade fiery liquors. This the Pilgrims had refused to do Morton was reckless of all other results so long as he could get the Indians to bring him furs. He even sold them guns and trained them to use these in killing the fur animals. The tragic result was that the Indians gained a new power

for war. Before, they had been almost helpless against the whites; now they grew terrible as enemies, and savagely eager to assert their new strength in torture and destruction.

There thus grew up a sharp division between the trading Englishmen and the home-seekers who were now beginning to build other settlements. The former wanted only to get rich and then leave America. The latter wanted their homes to be safe against Indian massacre. Finally Governor Bradford secured the support of the other home-making settlers and sent Captain Standish with a strong force to Merrymount. Standish broke up the dangerous place altogether (1628) and for a time Morton was driven from the country.

This delayed but could not stop the Indians' increasing power, rage and cruelty. There were too many other traders, Dutch and French as well as British, eager to give the redmen both guns and liquor in exchange for furs.

19. ENGLISH PURITANS PLANNED AN EXODUS TO AMERICA

The year 1628 started the great Puritan exodus from the old England to the new which is often regarded as the true founding of New England.

The Pilgrim "Separatists" remained of necessity a limited colony. They were a special group within the great Puritan sect; and they were unwilling to welcome outsiders, unless the latter would join their church, and agree to their "Mayflower Compact." Hence their settlement could not easily expand. Their entire community came over to Plymouth; but that was the end; their number was complete.

Meanwhile, in England, the large body of Puritans was growing ever larger. King Charles I, following more boldly the course of his father, King James, was beginning that struggle to suppress both liberty and Puritanism which

ended in their suppressing him. At first the struggle seemed all in his favor; and one of the schemes of the harried Puritans was to escape to a new England of their own in America. These Puritans now began the establishment of the great Puritan colony which they named Massachusetts Bay.

20. THEY FORMED THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY

As a first step, the Puritans formed a trading company of their own. They bought from the Council for New England most of what is now Massachusetts, the land being named from the few remaining Indians along its bay. The new trading company then quietly secured a royal charter (1629) permitting them to form a colony as other companies had done. Even before the charter was received, the company sent out to New England (1628) some sixty Puritan settlers under John Endicott. These established themselves in the town of Salem.

The name Salem means a haven of peace; but Endicott himself believed in fighting for religion. He was as ready with his sword as with his Bible. More than once in the years that followed he was to lead the New Englanders in Indian warfare.

Once when the English flag with its great red cross was displayed before his soldiers, he fiercely cut out the cross, because he regarded its appearance on the flag as a remnant of Catholicism.

The other Massachusetts Bay leaders hastened to disavow this violent act. They feared that their charter would be wholly taken away. Nevertheless the cross was for a time omitted from the colony's flag. The fiery Endicott was a typical figure among the harsher Puritans.

21. A GREAT MIGRATION TO NEW ENGLAND BEGAN

The Massachusetts Company received favorable reports of Endicott's first success at Salem, and thereupon proceeded boldly but quietly with their larger plan. In 1630 they transferred their business company bodily to New England. They brought over their royal charter with all its permits and its privileges, hoping thus to place it beyond the reach of the king.

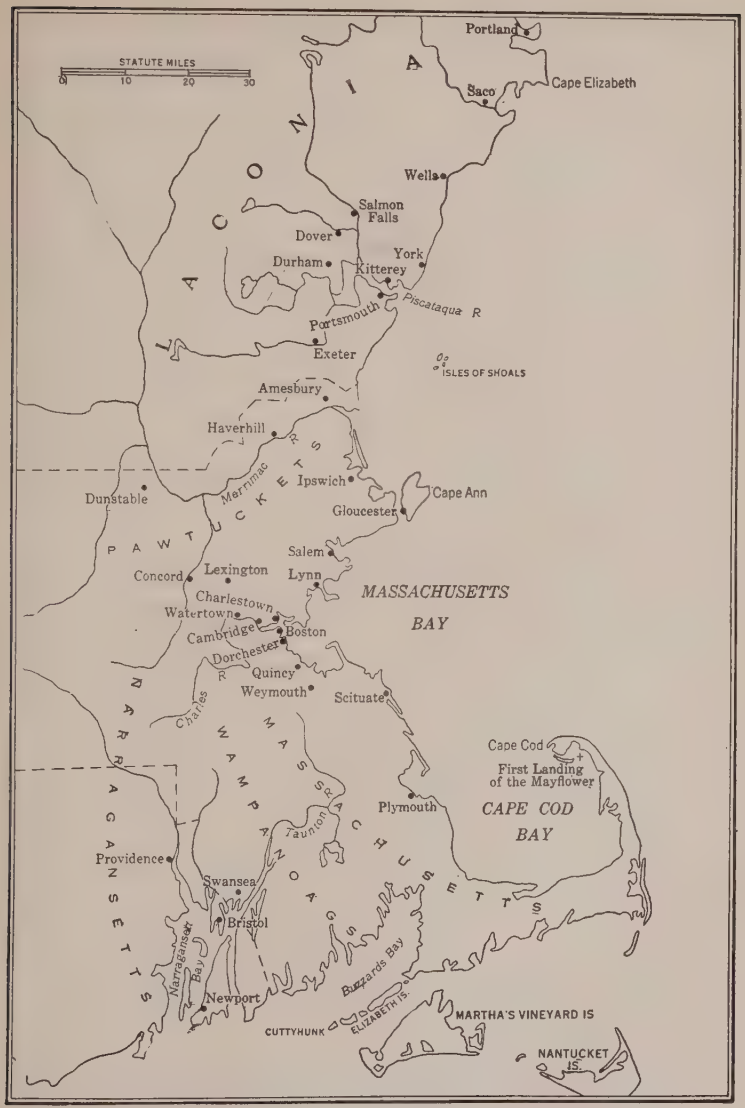
The chief members of the company came over also, with their families and all their worldly wealth. These were not poor men like the Pilgrims. Their leaders were men of England's middle class and gentry. Their first governor, John Winthrop, was a university scholar, a country gentleman of rank, who brought more than twenty servants in his household.

The leading clergyman of the colony for many years, John Cotton, had been a teacher in Cambridge University, and was one of the most noted scholars and profuse writers of his day, author of some fifty published works.

22. THE NEW COLONY WAS THE STRONGHOLD OF PURITANISM

With full authority under their charter to make whatever laws they wished for their own colony, these Massachusetts Bay settlers were about as independent as men could be, and still retain any allegiance to England. Like the Pilgrims before them, they aimed to remain Englishmen, but to escape from the government's religious control.

They had not adopted, however, our modern idea of religious tolerance. On the contrary they were fighting for their own religion. Persecution had already begun; and they knew that they might soon be compelled to fight desperately for the right to worship as they believed. They



The Early New England Coast

wanted, therefore, a religious community which should be all of their own faith. They meant to build a great fortress for Puritanism.

The ministers of their church were numerous in the colony and were among its leading men. Indeed in several cases a congregation came over in a body, headed by its own minister, and planting its own new town. The chief town, the center of Winthrop's government, the place where the treasured charter was preserved, was Boston. It was named after an English seaport, the home of many Puritans.

23. NEW ENGLAND GREW IN NUMBERS AND PROSPERITY

Over a thousand of the Puritans migrated in that first year of 1630, and thousands came in the years thereafter. They had their hardships; death took heavy toll of them as of the others. But even death's heavy threat so close beside them, even the easy return to comfort in England, could not break their will to stay.

About a hundred of the emigrants of 1630 fled home again, and their terrified reports caused some faint hearted folk to stay in England. Yet the firmer spirits still came. There had been no such wide movement of a united people with a single purpose since the days of the Crusades. Soon Massachusetts Bay was a large and wealthy colony, almost as populous as the rich Virginia "Dominion."

Little Plymouth, with its few hundred folk, began to be lost in the shadow of its great neighbor. As for the even tinier settlements which Gorges and his associates had all this time been struggling to plant, such of these as did not perish were swallowed up. The shrewd Puritan leaders gathered under their control what remained of each colony after its owners became disgusted with their costly ven-

tures. Soon New England was almost as wholly Puritan, as Winthrop and his comrades had planned.

24. THE PURITANS BUILT A ROAD FOR DEMOCRACY'S SUCCESS

Massachusetts Bay, as we shall see, was not at all a democracy; but it had discovered the power which lies behind democracy, the power of a people's united will.

As a mere business venture in the hands of early merchants, the settlement of New England, the coldest section of our Atlantic States, had met repeated failure. Even as a religious effort its settlement met spiritual difficulties. Bradford writes that some of his people proved sad backsliders under the strain of long solitude and repression in the bleak wilderness. New England, in that seventeenth century, could only have been built up by some such deep and wide-spread spiritual force as that of the English Puritans.

The Spaniards conquered Mexico by the fierce energy of individual ambition. The French settled Canada with unwilling peasants by the power of a mighty king and under the inspiration of feudal loyalty. The Puritans settled New England by the power which alone can uphold a Democracy. That is the intelligent devotion of its people, their willingness to sacrifice their interests in smaller things, for the sake of determined union in their one great common purpose.

CHAPTER NINE

THE GROWTH OF NEW ENGLAND

How Men Learned to Surrender Self to the Stern Necessity of Union

(1630–1688)

1. NEW ENGLAND WAS OPPOSED BY ENGLAND'S RULERS

The story of New England, for nearly a century after its first settlement, is the tale of how the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay grew strong and extended their rule over all the other little settlements. As a result New England developed into a powerful Puritan community. It was indeed a "new" England, as steadfast as the old, less gay and joyous, but more thoughtful. Its people were Englishmen indeed, in their devotion to both law and liberty.

The story tells also of the constant battle of this growing State to preserve the freedom for which its people had left England. The English Parliament expected to control New England's law, the English merchants to absorb its trade, the English kings to suppress its religion.

The colonists, on their side, expected to be ruled by the English government; but they relied strongly on those traditional "rights of Englishmen" of which we heard in Virginia's story. Moreover, New England had at first no royal governors to enforce unpleasant laws. All classes of her people were united in their desire for "freedom within the law."

2. MASSACHUSETTS TRIED TO COMBINE LOYALTY WITH LIBERTY

The Puritan leaders of Massachusetts were attempting a very difficult task. They sought to build a state within a

state, opposed to the main state in religion, yet not rebelling against it. They constantly assured the English king of their loyalty; but they insisted that English law permitted them to worship God according to their own ideas.

English courts denied this right, and though most Englishmen were beginning to think as the Puritans did in this matter, King Charles I insisted that he was the law. That is he so managed affairs that all laws were twisted to mean what he wished. He insisted that the colonists were required by the law to accept his decisions and obey them. Shrewd as the Massachusetts leaders were, they could not hide the fact that they were not obeying the king in religion.

Under these conditions, Massachusetts developed not a democracy but a theocracy, that is, a government guided by her church. She needed leaders who could be very silent and very cautious, as well as patient and persistent. In democracies, where every person has a voice, government is not always patient and persistent, and is never silent. Governor Winthrop and his council could not explain in public their disobedience to the king. Hence in all dealings with England, and in all religious matters which might arouse England, the few leaders kept control wholly in their own hands.

3. THE GOVERNMENT WAS BOTH ARISTOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC

In other matters the people had more voice. Each little Massachusetts town was allowed complete control of its own local affairs. The people gathered in "town meetings," and these trained every New Englander in the skilful handling of a democracy, a training too often missing among us today.

Yet Massachusetts was, at the start, not only theocratic

but aristocratic. That is, the government was in the hands of a few leading men. The masses were willing to follow and obey these leaders because of the trust and even reverence which the leaders well deserved. They held their rule partly by the weight of established custom, but mainly because they and their people were honestly striving for the same ideal.

Only the actual members of the original merchant group, the "Massachusetts Bay Company," voted at the early elections for the chief officials of the colony. These voters were once fewer than a dozen in number. At the persistent demands of the other colonists this narrow aristocracy of voters was enlarged step by step. Yet nearly sixty years later the vote in Massachusetts was limited to trusty Puritan church members. It included only about one-fifth of the men of the colony.

4. MASSACHUSETTS ALMOST REVOLTED DURING HER INFANCY

Winthrop was the very leader for such a state, high minded and resolute, but gentle, courteous, cautious. Yet even Winthrop's careful restraint could not keep the colonists from sometimes resenting his arbitrary rule. Neither could he keep the English government from realizing the religious character of his colony. In 1634, ten shiploads of Puritans were stopped from leaving England until every colonist on board unwillingly promised to follow in New England the forms of the English church.

A year later, the breach had grown so wide that the men of Massachusetts made ready for armed resistance. They fortified their ports; they drilled as soldiers. In yet more bold defiance they called upon each colonist to take an oath of loyalty to Massachusetts in place of one of loyalty to England.

The outbreak of Cromwell's revolution in England itself checked the quarrel of the king's government with Massachusetts. Otherwise the daring little colony must have fought its war for independence in these first years of settlement, instead of after a century and a half of vigorous growth.

The Town Meeting House of Boston

5. NEW HAMPSHIRE WAS BEGUN AS A TRADING STATE

Of the early non-Puritan settlements of New England the first to become a lasting colony was New Hampshire. That gallant and determined colonizer, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was made "Governor of New England" in 1620. He joined in partnership with a noted English soldier, Captain John Mason. Mason had been "military governor" of the English county of Hampshire, so that a portion of their grant was named New Hampshire.

There the partners granted land to an energetic Scottish

adventurer, David Thomson; and Thomson in 1623 began a strong settlement on Portsmouth Harbor. From his patron he named his chief building, "Mason hall." It was a fortress of stone so large that the Indians spread the fame of it far among their tribes. The fear of "Mason hall" made them much more obedient to the Plymouth captain, Standish, when that bold fighter marched among them.

Neither "Governor," Gorges or Mason, ever came in person to America; but they poured money persistently into costly efforts at colonizing. Mason planned to command the entire fur trade with the Indians. He sent explorers searching for Lake Champlain, the "lake of the Iroquois," hoping to make friends of these fierce and powerful Indian rulers. In this he failed; but his settlers gradually spread through the New Hampshire coast region, and self-supporting farms appeared where before there were only fishing shelters.

6. THE OWNERS ABANDONED NEW HAMPSHIRE TO ITS SETTLERS

The two partners Mason and Gorges separated (1634), Mason keeping New Hampshire as his share of their territory, and Gorges taking what was then first called Maine. This name meant the "mainland" as contrasted with Newfoundland and the many other islands used by the early traders and fishermen.

Mason died the next year; and his widow abandoned all his claims. She found these American possessions were a constant expense with no promise of profit for many years to come. Up to that time all settlers in New Hampshire had been Mason's tenants. Now the widow warned them that she would send no more supplies, but that she released them from all Mason's rights or claims.

Thus the men of New Hampshire were left alone, free in a free land. They chose one of their number to rule them. They sold the surplus Mason cattle to the Puritans of Boston. They were not, however, Puritans themselves, and they desired no closer touch with the stern Puritan rule. Indeed in one New Hampshire town the people built a church of their own, endowed it with land and chose an English minister. This was the beginning of the first regular Episcopal, or "Church of England," parish in New England.

The New Hampshire towns did not long remain alone. They suffered from Indian attacks and from disorders among themselves. Massachusetts Bay offered them the benefit of her strong protection, and agreed that, like the Puritan towns, they were to keep full control of their local government. This assured them of sufficient freedom in church and conduct; and they somewhat hesitantly entered under her rule (1641).

7. COSTLY EFFORTS WERE MADE IN MAINE AND AGAINST CANADA

As for the Maine settlements which had been Gorges' share of the division with Mason, their career closely resembled that of New Hampshire. The Maine coast had been gradually occupied by fishermen after the planting of Pemaquid in 1607. In fact, the fisheries of Maine proved more profitable than those of Newfoundland. For another century fishing boats of every sea-going people gathered along this coast.

Gorges planned to give Maine a noble capital city at York. It was to have handsome government buildings and an Episcopal cathedral. The settlement was started, but had made little progress when a war broke out with France. Thereon Gorges and his partners shifted their efforts to the

raising of a sort of privateer fleet. This under Sir David Kirke seized possession of the whole of Canada (1629).

Kirke's expedition gave England sudden ownership of Quebec and all the lesser French settlements. Maine now expected a splendid future; York was to be the capital of all the North. But France and England made peace soon afterward, and Canada was handed back to France.

8. THE COLONIES RESENTED ENGLAND'S COURSE IN CANADA

The English government thus began a course which became one main cause of New England's just resentment. Again and again the colonists won Canadian territory from France, and Britain traded this territory back to France for advantages elsewhere. The right of the colonies in the matter was wholly ignored. Their losses were in no way repaid, and Canada continued a constant source of injury to them. When they sought to destroy its menace, England herself sheltered Canada against them.

Not until some years later did Gorges recover from his many disappointments and again begin organizing his "Maine land" under a regular government. By this time (1636) more than a thousand settlers were scattered along the Maine coast, the largest settlement being at Saco.

The people were rough fishermen and lumbermen with whom Gorges had constant difficulty. They had built here for themselves and were slow to yield their freedom to anyone, whether to Gorges or to the British government itself.

9. GORGES FELL, AND MAINE WAS JOINED TO MASSACHUSETTS

The Puritans of Boston had been quick to encourage the Maine settlers in their opposition to Gorges. He, as the king's chosen governor of New England, was the Puritans'

most dangerous opponent. Disputes as to his government over Maine continued until the triumph of Cromwell made the Puritans masters of England.

The English Puritans imprisoned many leaders of the king's party, among them the aged but unyielding Gorges. Gorges died in prison (1647) an old man of eighty, battling to the last. His own settlers seized his American properties as payment for debts owed them.

Massachusetts Bay now offered to take these Maine settlements under her care as she had done in New Hampshire. In that moment of Cromwell's power, the Puritans, both in England and Massachusetts, were so strong that few of the Maine folk made much protest. The Massachusetts Bay government thus extended its rule from Boston northward to the wilderness, beyond which lay Canada.

10. AMERICA'S OWN GREAT WESTWARD MIGRATION BEGAN

Settlements very different from those of Maine sprang up to the south and west of Boston. These grew into the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut. The settlements of Mason and Gorges in the north had been less concerned with religion than was Massachusetts. These southern settlements were even more austere, more wholly devoted to matters of spiritual faith.

Their founders, and the founders of a few New Hampshire towns, withdrew from Massachusetts, because they objected to Governor Winthrop's obedience to the English church. They wanted complete religious independence. Thus no sooner had men successfully endured the hardships of the ocean and become established in some comfort on the Massachusetts shore, than many of them again abandoned their homes and their security at the call of a principle.

Once more folk faced the wilderness, this time the inner

wilderness of trackless forest, and of Indians growing ever more powerful. The vast westward movement across our continent, which was at last to bring our pioneers to the Pacific coast, began when freemen thus refused to submit to religious dictation here as they had before refused to submit in England.

11. CONNECTICUT WAS FOUNDED AS A COMPLETE DEMOCRACY

Connecticut was thus settled in 1634. Its name is that of the Indians for its central river, meaning probably the long river. The region had been previously occupied by the Dutch with outposts from their strong colony in New York. In 1633 the Dutch built a fort far up the Connecticut river near where Hartford now stands. Some fur traders from the sturdy little Plymouth colony hastened to settle there as rivals to the Dutch traders; but the real colonization did not begin until the next year. Then came the sudden overflow from Massachusetts Bay.

The majority of the people in three separate towns set out in 1635. Each town went as a unit, men, women and children driving their stock ahead of them. They marched over the Massachusetts hills, through the forests, and down the Connecticut river valley. This was the first migration within America itself, the first settling of one state from another.

The Connecticut settlers had no special complaint against Massachusetts, beyond their objection to caution in dealing with England about religion. They did, however, resent the general control of Boston over their affairs. They hoped to find better farmland; and above all they wanted to rule themselves in a complete democracy.

12. DEMOCRACY'S FOES ARE IGNORANCE AND SELFISHNESS

Connecticut's chief leader was the clergyman Thomas Hooker. He had begun in Massachusetts a celebrated argu-

ment with Governor Winthrop. No American school child is too young to grasp the general meaning and importance of that great argument. Today we have settled it in our land almost wholly in Hooker's favor. Yet the very completeness of our acceptance of Hooker's democratic view makes it necessary for us to give full weight to Winthrop's warning. We must avoid the dangers he so clearly foresaw.

Said Winthrop, "The best part is always the least; and of that best part the wiser is always the lesser." From this he argued that the best men in mind and morality must somehow manage to take control. Then this "best part" must select its "wiser" members and entrust all government to them. He felt that ignorant rulers were sure to plunge their country into disaster.

Said Hooker, "In matters that concern the common good, a general council chosen by all to transact business which concerns all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for the relief of the whole."

13. EARNESTNESS MADE CONNECTICUT A NOBLE DEMOCRACY

So Hooker and his followers marched off into Connecticut, determined to found a "government by the people." We may well look back with pride to our nation's brave and sturdy ancestry in Massachusetts. Yet we may look with an even broader pride to its ancestry in these smaller New England States. They accomplished what the Massachusetts leaders did not even attempt, a government wherein all had an equal share.

For a time, though only for a time, Connecticut was an almost ideal democracy. Each voter felt his responsibility, and did not lightly ignore it. Each saw the importance of his act, and voted with all his intelligence, and not to satisfy

the moment's passion. Each earnestly sought the good of the State, instead of looking solely to his private profits.

Hooker continued their chief guide and judge until his death. He advised their government; he settled their disputes. They loved, trusted and followed him. Democracy becomes a perfect government indeed when it finds, and remains fully confident that it has found, a leader so wise, so honest, and so wholly in sympathy with his people as was Thomas Hooker.

14. CONNECTICUT CRUSHED THE PEQUOT INDIANS

The advance of the colonists into Connecticut led almost at once to New England's first Indian war. The red men of this region were numerous and strong. There had been no plague to slay them as those around Plymouth had been slain. Their strongest tribe, the Pequots, lived along the banks of what is now called the Thames but was then the Pequot river. The Pequots felt themselves injured by the coming of the whites. Quarrels were quickly begun, and soon the redmen were not only killing but torturing any settler they could capture.

Massachusetts made a feeble effort to punish the Pequots. She sent a small force under Endicott which ravaged their fields, and then marched home again. The Pequots were only made more angry than before, and more self-confident. They resumed their cruelties.

Then, in May, 1637, the outraged "towns" of Connecticut held their first "general meeting," and banded themselves into a union. They raised a little army of one hundred fighters, which meant half the able bodied men of their tiny union. This army, with some small aid from Massachusetts and from friendly Indians, defeated the Pequots in two hard fought battles.

The struggle showed clearly the fighting advantages of the colonists. They lost only a few of their number, and they completely wiped out the Pequot nation. The other Indians were both amazed and terrified at this grim destruction of their strongest tribe. Not yet were the red men an equal match for the whites either in weapons or in the set resolve to win.

15. THE WAR LED TO THE FIRST LEAGUE AMONG THE COLONIES

The war with the Pequots led to the first "confederacy" among the New England colonies, the first step toward that final union of all the English colonies which is now our United States. When the Connecticut settlers appealed to Massachusetts for aid, she suggested such a confederacy. It was formed only after some years of delay, and was then extended to include also Plymouth and a later colony, New Haven.

By this time (1643) England was deep in her own Civil War. So the New Englanders made an alliance, quite as independent little nations. They gave as a reason for the league the fact that the motherland was not able to protect them. Their appearance of union had some practical value in strengthening them against the Dutch in New York. The league was, however, of too loose a character to do anything active. As Massachusetts was more powerful than all the other New England colonies put together, she naturally refused to be ruled by the others.

Once the league actually voted to go to war with the New York Dutch. The quarrel concerned only the settlements on Long Island Sound and had no interest for Massachusetts. She refused to fight at the league's command; and the other colonies were too weak to take any warlike steps without her. Such a league could only act with vigor when

its members were unanimous and the various governments so in earnest as to subordinate themselves to a general leader.

16. CONNECTICUT PREPARED OUR FIRST WRITTEN BODY OF LAWS

Meanwhile, after the Pequot war, the Connecticut people claimed full ownership of the Pequot territory as being theirs by conquest. They planned to build a State which should be all their own. Under Hooker's guidance they drew up and adopted a written "constitution" or code of laws (1639). This constitution made no mention whatever of England. Its writers regarded themselves as founding a wholly independent State within the wilderness.

This was the first case in history where a free people ever thus organized itself into a State under a finished law. The men on the Mayflower had made a written compact agreeing to equality in government. What these men of Connecticut did was to draw up a series of rules setting forth the chief details of their law. They rounded out this constitution by declaring that in all cases not covered by it they would strive to apply the laws of God as laid down in the Bible.

So fully did this code satisfy the simple needs of this earnest people, that Connecticut continued to live under it for nearly two hundred years. Its principles were embodied in the royal charter which they afterward received, and remained the Connecticut law until a new State Constitution was adopted in 1818.

17. NEW HAVEN STARTED AS A COMPLETE "BIBLE" STATE

The little individual colony of New Haven was founded at about the same time (1638). This was the most precisely religious of these religious colonies. Its people came

from England in a body led by their minister, the Rev. John Davenport. Their purpose was to form an independent community whose only law should be the Bible. They even rejected the old English "common law" which had been built up by custom during centuries. They refused, for instance, to approve of jury trials, because the Bible made no mention of them.

This colony was the chief outpost of New England's constant westward advance along Long Island Sound. New

The First Constitution Adopted in Connecticut
From the wall painting by Albert Herter in the Connecticut State Library at Hartford

Haven was so near the Dutch of New York that it was in repeated dispute with them. The little colony finally roused King Charles II to anger by sheltering two of Cromwell's judges who had condemned Charles I to death. When Charles II was restored to his father's kingship, his royalist Parliament resolved to execute these judges. Two fled to New England, and were so well concealed in the New Haven colony, that England could never be sure they were hidden there.

Despite this uncertainty, the king punished New Haven for its repeated religious defiance. In 1662 he united it to Connecticut. Some of the New Haven settlers, sooner than come under the Connecticut religious ideas, made a further migration and settled in New Jersey. There we shall meet them later. Most of the New Haven people, however, were quite ready to accept Connecticut's wise law. Thus New Haven ceased to be a separate colony.

18. MASSACHUSETTS EXPELLED ROGER WILLIAMS FOR PREACHING THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Rhode Island was the last of these separate little New England colonies which survived to become one of the original thirteen States of our Union. It was settled at about the same time as Connecticut, and in a somewhat similar manner, by Roger Williams (1636).

Williams was a young clergyman of high position and power who came with the great Puritan exodus to Boston. He was already noted for his piety and learning, and was made pastor of the Salem church. His preaching there went further than the Bostonians dared go in separation from the church of England. Boston, as you must keep in mind, had constantly to restrain all the Puritan extremists, or they would have plunged her into open battle against England's church.

Williams pleaded for that complete liberty of faith which has become our modern ideal. He declared that laws should punish men only for acts directly injurious to their neighbors, never for opinions held peacefully. The Church should have no connection with the State. A man's religious beliefs were wholly his own; and so long as he did not injure others, the law should protect him in his religion, not harry him because of it.

This, which is our American attitude towards religion, was wholly unknown to Williams' day. The Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut were as firmly convinced as was King Charles himself that a State should control the religion of its members.

Roger Williams Welcoming the Hutchinson Exiles to Rhode Island

19. WILLIAMS FLED TO RHODE ISLAND AND THE INDIANS

The Boston leaders at length banished Williams from the colony, and ordered that he should be returned to England by force. There he would be judged and doubtless condemned by English law. But the always kindly Governor Winthrop was Williams' friend and gave him warning. Williams rose from a sickbed and fled into the forest amid the bitter winter snows.

Williams had already won the friendship of Massasoit, the Indian chief who had been loyal to Plymouth. Now the fugitive sought the wise sachem's wigwam, but was soon compelled to further flight. He found refuge among the Narragansetts, the powerful tribe who were owners of most of the present Rhode Island territory. They learned to love and trust Williams, and with their aid he later (1643) wrote the first really American book, "Key to the Indian Language". Though printed in England, this book was meant for use in America.

The Narragansetts readily gave Williams a grant of land among them. They even welcomed other white men for his sake. Some friends from Massachusetts followed him into exile; and he began the future city of Providence (1636). He named it in thanks for his preservation. One of his doctrines was that the Indians were the true owners of America, and that all lands here should be bought from them. This teaching pleased the Indians, but not the Massachusetts' government, which regarded all the land as belonging to the British king and, by his grant, to the Puritans.

20. WILLIAMS FOUNDED RHODE ISLAND ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Roger Williams has been described as an ardent and impulsive dreamer. He was combative and restless, but benevolent, sincere and forgiving. He carried no feelings of malice or revenge; and his whole life was an example of unwavering devotion to truth, justice and the public welfare.

So great was his influence among the Narragansetts, that he prevented them from joining the Pequots in the war against Connecticut. Alone at the Narragansett council, he faced the Pequot envoys, risked his life against their threats, and talked them down with eager passion.

One little band of free speakers after another was exiled

from Massachusetts, and found shelter on the shores of Narragansett Bay. Williams had powerful friends in England, and when he saw a colony thus gathering around him he went in person to England and secured from the Puritan parliament the recognition of these fugitives as a separate colony. They were thus able to make their own laws without regard to Massachusetts.

As there were several settlements on the island of Rhode Island this name was gradually applied to the entire colony. The name probably sprang from the fact that the explorer Verrazano, writing of Narragansett Bay, likened this island at its entrance to the Asiatic Isle of Rhodes. Later tradition says the colony was named from the Dutch for Red Island, or even perhaps from its own wild red roses.

21. DESPITE DISORDERS, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WAS MAINTAINED

In the building up of this little colony, Williams' whole purpose was that which he had maintained in Massachusetts. He meant to prove that a State could exist even though it made no laws whatever to bind the religion of its people. Such a State had never existed before.

The carrying out of the idea was not easy. Religious fanatics and impractical dreamers, some rascals too, reckless bellowers for change of any sort, flocked to Williams' settlements and caused much tumult there. The neighbor colonies held up Rhode Island to ridicule. They said that its disorders proved that freedom of religion made impossible the upholding of any law or any peaceful order. Williams, however, knew how great was his central thought, and he clung to it through every difficulty. Today not only America but almost all the world believes with him in religious freedom.

22. MASSACHUSETTS STARTED COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Meanwhile, despite the withdrawing of many settlers to Connecticut and Rhode Island, the great Massachusetts

colony continued to prosper. So large was its percentage of ministers and scholarly thinkers that it was probably more highly educated at its start than any other colony has ever been.

One of the earliest acts of Massachusetts was the founding of Harvard College (1636), the oldest college in our country. Its first class was graduated in 1642 with nine pupils, youths of the English gentry whose training had begun in England and had progressed far beyond the primary teaching which was all that most folk could gather in that age.

Each Puritan colony tried from the beginning to set up schools for its children. In Massachusetts, as early as 1642, a "compulsory education act" was passed insisting that every child must be educated, since only thus could all become "profitable to the commonwealth." In other words, as our story has already pointed out, the wisdom of a government is measured by the wisdom of its people. You and I are here today, because of the movement which started with New England's first Compulsory Education Act.

23. MASSACHUSETTS PUBLISHED BOOKS AND GRANTED PATENTS

New England also sought to improve the education of its adults. A printing press was set up in Cambridge in 1638, and the first book printed in America came from this press in 1640. It was a "Book of Psalms," the Psalms being put into English verse by several Massachusetts ministers.

American published literature begins with this religious book and with Williams' scholarly study of the Indian tongue. Anne Bradstreet, wife of a Massachusetts governor, published our first book of original verse (1650), but this was printed in England and read mainly there.

In the same wise effort to encourage the progress of its

people, Massachusetts started our land's remarkable mechanical career. All governments today encourage inventions by granting "patents." These aim to secure to the inventor some of the profits of his invention. The first among the many thousand patents which prove the inventive ingenuity of our people, appears in the Massachusetts' records of 1646. The state then granted a patent to Joseph Jenks for an improved form of scythe, which made the farmer's scythe what it is today.

24. MANY INDIANS WERE CONVERTED BY JOHN ELIOT

Another important step in Massachusetts was the effort to teach the Indians. A noted clergyman, John Eliot, devoted his life to converting the redmen to Christianity. He studied their language until he was able to preach to them (1646) without an interpreter. After thirty years of this preaching, he had three or four thousand of what were called "praying Indians" in settled Christian communities of their own.

Eliot even translated and printed part of the Bible in an Indian dialect. The book remains today; but the Indians of the tribe which spoke its language have perished. Eliot became widely famed as New England's "Apostle to the Indians."

25. MASSACHUSETTS BECAME MORE SEVERE IN RELIGIOUS LAW

In all these early efforts Massachusetts and Connecticut and little Plymouth were almost wholly guided by the councils of their ministers. This theocratic government made them very different in spirit from Rhode Island with its religious independence. In our Southern colonies also, as we have seen, religious tolerance though by no means complete was much more general.

New England had been planted not as an asylum for all

faiths, but as a stronghold for one. So anxiously were the colonists on guard against the English church as upheld by the English government, that for one of their own people to quarrel with their own church seemed to them a treason to the community.

Hence in these colonies the law was always expected to enforce the established religion. The intensely earnest ministers set up laws to punish even the smallest departure from the conduct which their own religion commanded. In Massachusetts a man could not smoke on the street, nor wear his hair long, nor woo a girl without her parents' consent. He could not even kiss his wife in public. There is a legend that a sea-captain, returning from a three years' voyage, embraced and kissed his wife as she welcomed him on the doorstep. He was condemned to two hours in the stocks for "unseemly behavior."

26. LAW HERE PROTECTED FREEDOM BETTER THAN IN ENGLAND

Such laws were mainly later additions to the first written law code which was adopted in Massachusetts (1641) after years of discussion. This code was called the "Body of Liberties." It may seem severe to us now, but it was really a great step forward in legal development.

Far more fully than any earlier code, it protected men against the tyranny of kings or governors. While Connecticut and Rhode Island were turning their backs on England's long experience, and were striving to open their own new lines of human progress, Massachusetts progressed by steadily developing and improving the old established "English Law."

One of the sections of the Body of Liberties, the first appearance of the point in American history, dealt with Liberties of Women. Under this it declared that "Every

married woman shall be free from bodily correction or stripes by her husband . . . unless it be in his own defense upon her assault." Another section of the "Liberties" forbade "tyranny or cruelty" toward domestic animals.

27. LAW SUPPRESSED THE PREACHINGS OF ANNE HUTCHINSON

A glaring case of the ministers' religious severity, or perhaps of Winthrop's political wisdom, occurred with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She was an extremely able woman of Boston. Despite the Puritan idea that women should remain in quiet and seclusion, she preached or lectured to large audiences. At first she spoke privately to her own sex only, but later she talked openly to all who came to listen. She insisted that each of us might have a divine inspiration, that is, God might show any one of us things unknown before.

This seemed to the Puritans a very dangerous doctrine. It might lead to each man assuming to be his own judge in spiritual things, his own minister, even his own prophet. Many leading Bostonians accepted Mrs. Hutchinson's eloquent teachings, and the dispute almost tore Massachusetts apart. Finally the church leaders united against Mrs. Hutchinson, and she was banished.

Her followers were assisted by Roger Williams in their search for a new home, and she helped to start a settlement on Rhode Island (1638). Later, the Hutchinson band moved to New York thinking to find more security there among the Dutch; but the brave leader and all her followers were slain in the Indian war which soon afterward desolated New York.

28. NEW ENGLAND'S PURITANS AIDED IN CROMWELL'S WAR

Noted among Mrs. Hutchinson's early followers in New England had been a young Bostonian of high British rank, Sir Harry Vane. He had come to Boston a mere youth,

but partly because of his rank he was quickly made a leader by the more radical Puritans. These were impatient of Winthrop's cautious guidance. They even elected Vane governor of the colony over Winthrop (1636).

The youthful governor, however, shared in the downfall of Mrs. Hutchinson. Winthrop was reelected, and Vane withdrew from the colony. Taking up the Puritan cause in England, Vane became a leader in the great Cromwell rebellion there, and did many a kindly act to aid his former New England friends.

That English rebellion completely changed the fortune of New England. From having been dreaded and suspected almost as a foe to old England, she became Parliament's favorite. Indeed many a New England Puritan went back like Vane to share in the Puritan fight for England. The English Revolution, which had sent many "Cavaliers" to Virginia, reversed this current in Massachusetts. It stopped the migration of Puritans to America, and even drew them back to England.

A Massachusetts minister, Hugh Peter, preached the somber death sermon to King Charles I before his execution. Thomas Hooker of Connecticut was entreated by Cromwell to return to England as his advisor. One of Governor Winthrop's sons and one of his nephews rose to be generals under Cromwell.

29. KING CHARLES II SOUGHT TO PUNISH NEW ENGLAND

Naturally the return of the Stuart kings to power, when Charles II was given his father's throne (1660), gave little pleasure to New England. The selfish Charles II was, as we have seen, unjust even to his warm Virginia friends; naturally, he was even more unjust to his New England enemies.

Massachusetts welcomed him on his being made king; but

she did so even more grudgingly than did the English Puritans. She protested at once against those "Navigation Acts" which Virginia obeyed until they brought her to the edge of ruin. Under these laws, Charles and his royalist Parliament began ruling America against her will.

Massachusetts issued a famous "Declaration of Rights" (1661). This asserted for the first time, in public form, the vague doctrine which was at the root of our whole dispute with the English government. The declaration in-

Rev. John Cotton

Sir Harry Vane

sisted that we had "rights" as Englishmen which England's whole government could not overstep. Here again Massachusetts was seeking to depend on English law, instead of casting it aside and, like Connecticut, building law anew.

30. THE QUAKERS BROUGHT TROUBLE TO MASSACHUSETTS

Charles did not venture to dispute the Declaration of Rights. That would have been an attack on freedom in England as well as in America. He waited for a more favorable opportunity to punish New England's Puritans. This came from Massachusetts' treatment of the Quakers.

These were a newly risen English sect who carried still further the ideas of Mrs. Hutchinson. They believed in all persons pouring forth whatever religious thoughts came to them, as being possible inspirations from God. Hence, any Quaker man or woman who disapproved of anything in a church service promptly got up and said so. In some cases their protests were so violent that the first Quakers seemed very unlike the wise and gentle sect who afterwards founded Pennsylvania. The early Quakers visited different colonies to voice their protests, and were thus brought into trouble in many places.

In Massachusetts their earnest defiant words were spoken in the Puritan churches. A Quaker would rise in the midst of the sermon and shout out fierce rebukes to both minister and congregation. One Quaker woman marched up the church isle all unclothed and covered with ashes, crying out that she came as a warning of the destruction which was about to fall upon them all.

31. SEVERITY AGAINST THE QUAKERS ROUSED A REACTION

The horrified Puritans tried to stop these insults to their ministers by whipping the Quakers, and by banishing them from the colony. The Quakers were only made more resolute by punishment. Some of them returned persistently to Massachusetts and repeated their fiery denunciations. Governor Winthrop had died before this and the political leadership was in the hands of the aged John Endicott, still as stern and hard as in the old days when he founded Salem. The Quakers had been banished under penalty of death if they returned, so Endicott had four of them hanged.

These whippings and hangings of a religious people who at least meant well, caused a reaction against the old original Puritan rule. At the fourth hanging, Endicott could only

enforce his law by surrounding the gallows with armed troops. Many Puritans who had once followed the old "theocracy" in blind trust, now protested against its severity.

King Charles seized the opportunity. He declared the colony had no right to make laws putting these folk to death; and he made this the formal ground for seeking to withdraw the Massachusetts charter. He was, however, seizing upon every charter he could reach, even those of ancient cities in England itself. He was not really defending Quakers; he was snatching away English liberty.

32. THE KING COULD NEITHER CRUSH NOR BRIBE NEW ENGLAND

Charles now appointed commissioners to visit each of the New England colonies, and to plan their reorganization (1664). In strong Massachusetts the commissioners could do little. When they announced in Boston that they would hear and consider any case of protest against the Massachusetts law, the Puritan government sent a crier through the town warning all citizens not to present any case whatever—and no man ventured to disobey that grim command.

By this time there were many people in Massachusetts who were not members of its established church. Some, especially in the Maine and New Hampshire regions, were, as we have seen, supporters of the Church of England. From these non-Puritans, the commissioners of the king tried to build up a "king's party" to support them. A prominent Boston merchant, Joseph Dudley, who joined this party, was made deputy governor for New England.

The king also tried another line of attack. He praised little Rhode Island which had refused to persecute Quakers, and gave her a royal charter even more liberal than her

colonial grant from the Puritans. Indeed, the charter remained her State constitution until 1844. To Connecticut, which had never had a charter at all, he gave a very generous one, as if to show what he would do for any truly loyal colony.

Yet, so distrustful of Charles were even the non-Puritans in New England, that neither the new charters nor the persuasions of "Governor" Dudley changed the firm stand of the colonies against the king. Then the English government became engaged in war with Holland. The king was once more compelled to let the struggle with these resolute Puritans wait for a safer time.

33. THE FORMER OWNERS CLAIMED MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

The royal commissioners caused the most confusion and disaster in New Hampshire. A grandson of the old proprietor Mason, put in a claim for the colony. Young Mason had friends at court, so the king restored him as owner of the entire colony, careless of the fact that the Mason claims had been openly abandoned.

This injustice fell heavily upon the colonists. They had cleared their own lands, built on them, and made them of value wholly by their own labor, often at the cost of their lives. Now the king's commissioners tried to force them to pay rent or to buy their lands anew from Mason.

A similar and more justified claim was set up for the Gorges heirs in Maine. Massachusetts settled that danger by buying up the entire Gorges claim for ready cash.

The effect of this was to remove the question wholly from the king's obedient law courts, since the Massachusetts government now represented both sides and refused to sue itself. The king resented the purchase angrily. He declared it an impudent act which showed distrust of his justice.

34. THE INDIANS BEGAN THE TERRIBLE "KING PHILIP'S WAR"

While the New Hampshire dispute was still unsettled, New England's most widespread and terrible Indian war broke out (1675). It began with the tribe of Massasoit, the former friend of Plymouth. This tribe was now ruled by Massasoit's son, called by the colonists King Philip. Resenting the constant advance of the whites over Indian lands, Philip had been secretly planning war for years. He began it by burning a Plymouth town.

The powerful Narragansetts, the former protectors of Roger Williams, were also dragged into the war. The tribes of western Massachusetts joined Philip willingly. So did

The Pledge of Peace in New England

those of New Hampshire and Maine. The war was directed mainly against Plymouth and Massachusetts. It was never taken up by the few and scattered Indians who had dwelt in Connecticut since the Pequot War. All the New England colonies, however, were soon forced in self-defense to unite against the Indians who attacked white folk everywhere.

The well armed Indians were at first more than a match for the whites. The savages were themselves surprised at their successes; and their ferocity increased with victory. They repeatedly ambushed small forces, and burned towns.

They massacred every victim they could reach. Never had the land known such horrors and such agony.

At Hadley in western Massachusetts, an Indian attack was repelled after its first rush had seemed victorious. Tradition says that the townsfolk were rallied by an unknown old man who suddenly appeared and ably directed their resistance, then vanished. They thought him a preserver direct from God. Legend, however, says he was Colonel Goff, one of the hunted judges of Charles I. Goff was hiding with the Hadley minister, and risked exposure to save the distracted town.

35. FINALLY THE UNITED COLONIES CRUSHED THE INDIANS

A change came with the following winter. The Indians could be more easily traced through the forests, and they had no stores of food. They starved or were shot down. The great tribe of the Narragansetts were attacked in their chief fortress and completely crushed. Captured Indians were sold as slaves in the West Indies. King Philip himself was at last killed. His entire tribe was wiped out and so were the Narragansetts. Southern New England was swept clear of Indians, except for the few who had joined the whites and accepted their civilization. Even the "praying Indians" of Eliot were distrusted and very harshly treated.

The war in its full fierceness lasted only a year; but the Indians of the north fled toward Canada and were never wholly crushed. For years thereafter they continued to raid the northern border of Maine and New Hampshire. After the long early period of peace with the Indians, New England now changed to the unhappy position of facing constant ravage from the bitter fury of the desperate survivors.

The whites on their side lost in the war over six hundred

fighting men, besides the hundreds of massacred old men, women and children. The poor little colony of Plymouth was quite ruined by the burning of its towns and the deaths among its people. Moreover, Plymouth's share of the war debt for soldiers and supplies was $75,000, a sum which in those days was worth more than the entire property of the Plymouth colonists. They paid the debt only after years of effort and renewed hard toil.

The Great Seal of New England

36. THE KING SEIZED CONTROL OF THE HELPLESS COLONIES

Even while this grim war was being fought to its deadly end, King Charles II was perfecting his plans to deprive the colonists of their wealth and freedom. New Hampshire was taken from Massachusetts and declared a "royal prov-

ince." That is it was placed directly under control of the king. He promptly appointed a governor who acted in Mason's interest.

A New Hampshire Assembly was called to give the colony's consent to these changes. It did so under compulsion; but it also passed a resolution, praising the Massachusetts rule and expressing the deepest regret at being thus separated from it (1680).

King Charles was now at the height of his power in England. He had succeeded in cancelling by law the charters of all the English cities. By the same method of appeal to his own submissive courts he now (1684) cancelled the charters of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Fortunately for the cause of freedom in both England and America, King Charles died the next year.

37. REBELLION WAS RISING, BUT ENGLAND REBELLED FIRST

The king's successor, James II, appointed Sir Edmund Andros to be governor of all New England. Massachusetts submitted to the soldiers who came with Andros. She even handed over to him her long defended and treasured charter. Andros summoned Dudley and the non-Puritans of New England to his aid. They even held Church of England services in a Boston church.

Connecticut managed to cling at least to her actual written charter though not to the rights it granted her. When Andros (1687) stood in the government room in Hartford and demanded the written charter, the lights were suddenly put out. When they were relit, the charter had disappeared. Tradition says that it had been carried off by a daring Connecticut soldier and hidden in an oak tree. This was long preserved thereafter as the "charter oak."

Thus the colonies of New England feared that their

Puritan commonwealths would be wholly crushed. They dreaded, even more than the Southern colonies, the increasing power of the Stuart kings. Rebellion seemed very near at hand when suddenly those kings were again and finally dethroned by England's own second revolt against them. The English Revolution of 1689 drove the Stuarts forever from power, opened a new chapter in the history of both England and America, and renewed for a time the loyalty of the American colonies.

An Indian Raid on a New England Settlement

CHAPTER TEN

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC COLONIES

The story of a Progress made by Peaceful ways
(1609–1688)

1. HOLLAND BEGAN THE SETTLEMENT OF THIS REGION

The middle region which lay between New England and the South, developed a character different from either. It grew into a more peaceful land. It was neither Puritan nor Elizabethan. Indeed at the start it was not even English. It was settled as a single province by the Dutch, and was known to them as New Netherland.

Afterward the English seized it and named it New York. Then, by degrees, they divided it, just as they had divided Virginia. So from Dutch New Netherland there sprang up four British colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

These middle colonies offer us much the same heroic tale as the others. They were built up by a folk who learned much from suffering much. Here again, the weaklings died, while the strong worked hard and faced dangers boldly for freedom's sake, or endured sternly for religion's sake. That is everywhere the story of our nation's founding.

2. RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE WAS SHOWN HERE FROM THE START

The middle region differed from the colonies north and south of it in two chief ways. It was less English, and it was less involved in religious anxieties.

As to race, its earliest white inhabitants were the Dutch, the Swedes, and even to some extent the Finns and French. Later, however, so many English settlers followed these, that the region became almost as English as the wholly British lands around it.

As to religion, the settlers here, like those who had fled to Rhode Island, or to Maryland, were most of them seeking shelter from persecution. They had themselves endured its cruelty. They had learned that while persecution may bend the weak to a feeble surrender, it hardens the strong in their ideas. They saw that any faith held deeply in the heart, does good; and that even the noblest, held only on the lips, does harm. They began to shape into a practical policy what Roger Williams had preached as an ideal, the complete separation of Church and State.

3. THE COLONISTS KEPT PEACE EVEN WITH THE INDIANS

Even the Indians were fairly well treated in these middle colonies. The red men were less feared than elsewhere, and therefore were not so often attacked on mere suspicion. Their claim to America's land was more generally accepted; and their rights were usually purchased.

Hence these colonies, though they faced more powerful Indian tribes than those of New England or the South, suffered fewer Indian attacks. The whites here made friends even of the terrible Iroquois who desolated Canada, and the dread Susquehannas who ravaged Virginia. Except for one hideous time in the Hudson valley, caused by the drunken folly of a savage governor, the middle colonies were able through all their early years to dwell in peace with the Indians.

Later when the settlers spread far into the back country, they met the redmen of Canada and the Ohio valley. These

distant tribes were under French control; and dark Indian wars broke out, and savage massacre. Then indeed New York and Pennsylvania came to know all the red horrors which had made New England and Virginia dread the very name of "Indian."

4. ENGLAND AND HOLLAND BOTH CLAIMED THIS REGION

England, you will recall, had claimed our entire Atlantic coast because of Cabot's early voyage of discovery. She had named it all Virginia. Even Queen Elizabeth, however, had said that discovery must be followed by settlement, or it did not give ownership; and while England was still struggling with her first attempts at settlement, at Jamestown and on the coasts of Newfoundland and Maine, the Dutch explored and took possession of this middle region. Holland, the land of the Dutch, was in those days called "the Netherlands" or low lands, so they named their colony New Netherland.

For several generations before this time, Holland had been ruled by Spain. The Hollanders became Protestant, and Spain tried to force them to return to the older religious faith. The Dutch rebelled. They suffered terrible miseries, but continued their resistance with an amazing endurance. Our American War of Independence lasted eight years; that of the Dutch lasted eighty years.

This "Eighty Years War" was indeed one main reason for Spain's increasing weakness in the colonizing of America. Holland learned to be patient and to save, and she grew strong. Spain grew weary and sank into exhaustion. War has often destroyed the tyrants more wholly than it destroys their victims.

The war between Spain and Holland did not wholly end until 1648; but by 1608 Holland was really free, and had

become a great sea-power. She was mistress of most of that tropical world of Asia which in Columbus' day had been seized by Portugal. Her people owned vast fleets of trading ships and men-of-war. They had become a rich merchant nation planting trade stations in many far-off lands.

5. HUDSON EXPLORED THE HUDSON RIVER FOR HOLLAND

Holland now planned to improve her trade routes to Asia. She sent a ship to discover that passage through America, of which both Spaniards and English had dreamed. Magellan and Drake had both rounded the continent at the south, but too far south for the road to have a commercial value. The Dutch had become very friendly with the English during the long wars which they both fought against Spain; so it was not at all odd that this Dutch expedition of discovery set out under a hired English captain, Henry Hudson.

In 1609 Hudson sailed along our coast in his Dutch ship, the Half Moon. He visited Delaware Bay, just a year before Lord Delaware of Virginia visited and named it. Hudson soon decided that the Delaware could not be an Asiatic strait, so he continued his search northward. Entering the broad river which now bears his name, he was led by its depth to explore it hopefully. He sailed up it, just as Cartier had before sailed up the St. Lawrence, looking for Asia at every turn.

Hudson, like Cartier, saw his supposed strait dwindle at last to a river, with rapids and waterfalls; and he had to turn back, disappointed. Like all of us, in his eager search for what he desired, he failed to realize the far higher values of what he thus passed by.

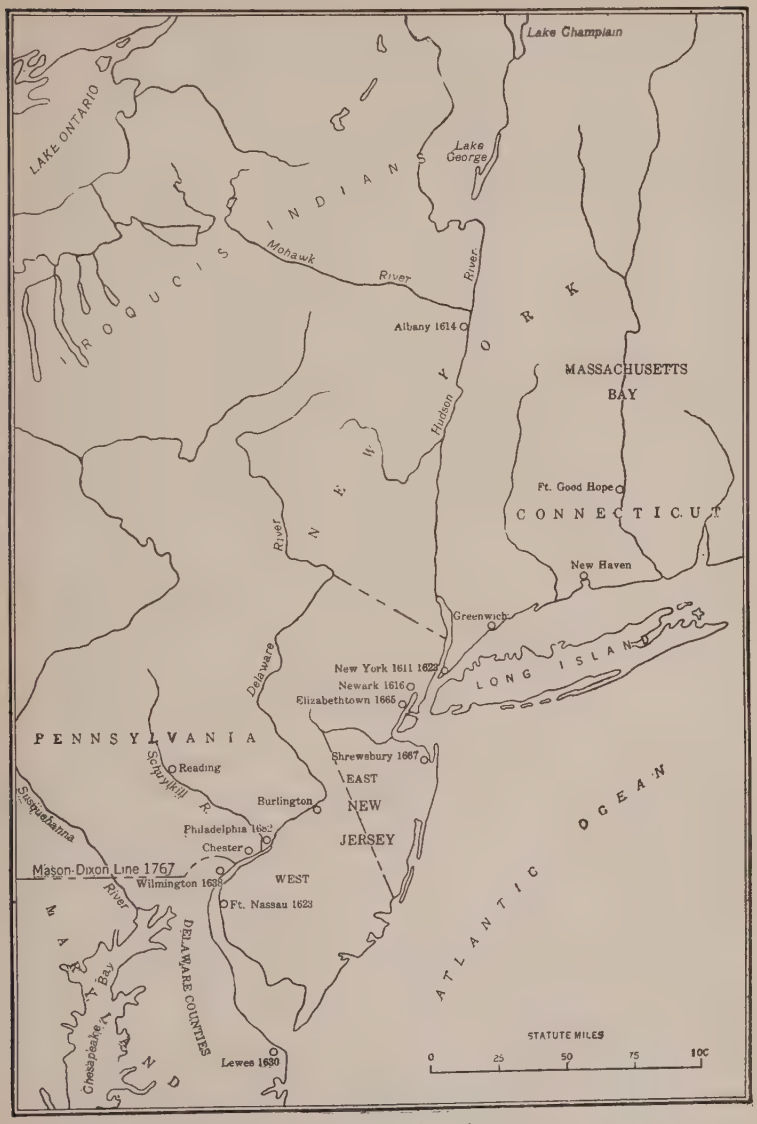
In a later voyage, Hudson sought his strait further north. Despite cold and hunger, he patiently explored the vast Canadian bay which carries his name. At length his crew revolted under their sufferings and drove Hudson from the ship. So he perished in that frozen world of ice, the first famous martyr in the grim records of Arctic exploration.

6. THE HUDSON RIVER LED TO THE LAND OF THE IROQUOIS

Meanwhile Captain Hudson had reported in Holland that the river valley he had explored was a beautiful region in which to dwell, and that it promised a rich fur trade. The Hudson was, in fact, the easiest route by which to reach northern New York, the home of the Iroquois. These Indians, the most powerful on the continent, controlled the richest part of its fur trade.

Thus it chanced that at almost the same time three different European nations each sought to open this trade with the Iroquois; and each approached the unknown Indian land from a different direction. From the south came Hudson with his Dutch ship and crew. From the north came the French. You will recall that Champlain, the French founder of Canada, met the Iroquois in this same year of 1609; but he quarreled with them, and they barred his path. Only a few years later, when Mason planted his English settlements in New Hampshire he hoped that his traders could push westward through the wilderness and find these same Iroquois.

For over half a century the Dutch won the rich Iroquois trade away from both French and English. The Dutch held the Hudson, the best approach to the hidden Indian land. Yet their wise kindliness in dealing with the redmen proved an even more valuable approach.



The Middle Colonies

7. THE DUTCH MADE FRIENDS OF THE INDIANS FOR TRADE

In the years following Hudson's voyage, other Dutch ships came to trade along his river. They set up trading huts on Manhattan Island where New York now stands, and also on the Jersey City heights. Dutch sea-captains met Iroquois chiefs far up the river at Albany (1614), and built there a permanent trading post. Near this post, deep in the unknown wilderness, Dutch and Iroquois made a solemn treaty of peace; and it was never broken between them.

Other Dutch traders tramped on foot far into the wilderness. They crossed New Jersey, and so reached the Delaware river (1614). Some of these daring wanderers were seized by the Indians of the Delaware and held for ransom; but in the end the Dutch managed to make friends of the Delaware redmen also.

The Dutch were thus far quicker than the English to leave the coast valleys and search the interior of the continent. That was because the Dutch were traders rather than settlers. They dared much for wealth and a quick return to their beloved Holland. Their hopes, like those of the French and Spanish leaders, looked back to Europe. The English were no longer content with life in England; they came here to make homes. Hence they settled down and endured instead of roving through the wilderness like the Dutch.

8. THE DUTCH SETTLED BOTH NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

English ships which were sailing between Virginia and New England, stumbled upon the Dutch ships and trading huts in New York harbor; and England protested to the Dutch government. The latter, seeking to avoid a quarrel, declared it knew nothing of the matter.

In 1622 Holland came openly into American colonization. A great Dutch merchant company was formed, known as the West India Company. This took formal possession of New Netherland. England, which was now joining in active alliance with Holland, made no protest; so the Dutch merchants proceeded to turn their trading posts into a lasting colony.

In 1623 the Company sent over a shipload of religious refugees, who had suffered so much in Europe that they meant to leave it forever and face the wilderness instead. These began the settlement of both New York and New Jersey.

9. THE FIRST SETTLERS WERE WALLOONS SEEKING FREEDOM

Most of the colonists in that first shipload to New Netherland were not Dutch at all, but a French-speaking people called Walloons. These came from the region which is now Belgium. They were Protestants fleeing from persecution; and Holland, which had learned pity from her own long religious warfare, was ready to aid refugees of almost any faith.

The Walloons were as earnest in their religion as were the New England Puritans, and as resolute to suffer for it. They were not, however, called on to face such extreme hardships as Plymouth and Boston had faced at the beginning. The Dutch merchants, who were hosts to the Walloons, already knew the country. The traders had built warm huts, gathered ample food, and made friends with the Indians. Thus the Walloons came to a land partly prepared for them.

The colonists were sheltered and established at the various trading posts. The settlement on Manhattan soon became known as New Amsterdam, from Holland's own

chief city. The one at Albany was called Fort Orange. A new fort was built on the Jersey shore of Delaware Bay and called Fort Nassau.

10. MINUIT MADE NEW AMSTERDAM THE DUTCH CAPITAL

After 1623 other settlers came, real Dutch folk now; and three years later (1626) came the next forward step. The Dutch resolved to make New Amsterdam a worthy capital for their possessions in America. They sent out as governor a noted soldier, Captain Peter Minuit (Min-oo-it), with a strong company of troops and many new settlers. Minuit was a German adventurer who, like Hudson, was very ready to serve with the well-paying Dutch.

You will see what a tolerant people these Dutch merchants really were, and in what cosmopolitan fashion our middle Atlantic States began. Holland explored them with Dutch sailors under an English sea-captain, then sent out French colonists, and now a German governor.

Minuit proved a strong and honest ruler. He first introduced into America the planting of fruit trees for the future years, and many another goodly custom of the Dutch. He built a big ship from the oaks along the Hudson, the largest ship of American make for a century. His greatest fame, however, has come from the fact that he purchased from the Indians the whole of what is now Manhattan Island, the center of New York City, valued at many billion dollars. Minuit paid for it with trinkets which he valued at twenty-four dollars.

Even this amazing bargain did not satisfy the Dutch mercantile Company. Its members found, as many British companies had done, that colonization was far more costly than they had expected. The Dutchmen blamed Minuit for their losses, and so dismissed him. His successors proved

far less able than he. They were Dutch merchants who either robbed the Company, or misgoverned the colony in blind obstinacy.

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Hudson Greeted by the Indians Along His River

II. THE DUTCH OPENED DELAWARE AND PENNSYLVANIA

The Delaware river regions now included in our States of Delaware and Pennsylvania were first occupied by the Dutch from New Amsterdam. They started a little settlement in Delaware at Lewes (1630), and they built a trading fort, "Beversrede" (1633), on a site just below Philadelphia.

The settlement at Lewes was wiped out by Indians within a year. It had been begun by David De Vries, the most notable of all these early Hollanders. It was destroyed during De Vries' absence; and he himself blamed, not the Indians but his own stupid, bullying manager. This man

had threatened the redmen, and kept on demanding of them one foolish thing after another, until they thought he surely meant to destroy them. So they struck first, and slew him and all his people.

Yet Lewes and Fort Beversrede and Fort Nassau on the Jersey side of the river opened the way to other settlers. Dutch home-makers afterward continued a slow flow into all the Delaware valley.

12. SWEDEN SEIZED THE DELAWARE REGION

A change important to America came over European affairs. Sweden, under her greatest king, Gustavus Adolphus, rose for a brief time to be the chief state of northern Europe. Gustavus planned, and his successors carried on, an effort to give Sweden a foothold in America, like the other European powers.

In 1638 a Swedish expedition was sent to take possession of the Delaware valley. The expedition was headed by Minuit, the bold German captain whom the Dutch had discarded. Minuit met the few Dutch settlers and traders along the river bank, and they protested angrily that the land was theirs. Nevertheless Minuit and his Swedes built for themselves a settlement on the present site of Wilmington, Delaware. They named this Christina, after Sweden's queen, and proclaimed that the surrounding land was now New Sweden.

The Swedes made friends with the Indians, as the Dutch had done, and settled down as farmers rather than fur traders. For a while, Dutch and Swedes lived together quietly. The Dutch governor on the Hudson could not drive out the Swedes, for he had plunged his own colony into trouble with his Indian neighbors. These were not the

great Iroquois with whom the Dutch had pledged friendship, but several little tribes along the Hudson and Long Island Sound.

13. NEW NETHERLAND HAD A DISASTROUS INDIAN WAR

This one tragic Indian war almost wiped out the little Dutch colony along the Hudson. Disputes grew until an outbreak was caused by the savagery of the Dutch governor. To punish one murder by an Indian, he in a drunken rage directed his people to the sudden slaughter of a large body of innocent Indians. These were camped peacefully at Pavonia, on the Jersey shore of the river.

The disgusted Dutch colonist De Vries says that the shrieks of the Indian women were heard even across the broad Hudson, and terrified the women of New Amsterdam. This "Pavonia massacre" was perhaps the most wicked attack upon the Indians in all our colonial history. It resembled the Spanish fury against the redmen rather than the usual Dutch fairness.

In passionate revenge the Indians ravaged the New Jersey and Hudson river settlements. They surrounded and almost captured New Amsterdam. The strife continued for over two years (1643-1645). It only ended when the Indians of the Hudson River and Long Island were almost exterminated, even as the Pequots of Connecticut had been in 1638.

The English settlers who were crowding westward across Connecticut aided the Dutch in the latter part of this war; for the English settlements were also attacked. It was at this time that Anne Hutchinson of Boston and all her followers were slain. The New Amsterdam colony itself was reduced to only about two hundred people.

14. STUYVESANT REBUILT THE RUINED DUTCH COLONY—NEW AMSTERDAM BECAME OUR FIRST CHARTERED "CITY"

A new governor was sent by the Holland company to revive the ruined colony. This was Peter Stuyvesant, the most famed of New York's Dutch governors (1647-1664). Stuyvesant was a noted soldier who had lost a leg in battle and wore a wooden one with silver bands, whence he was called "Old silverleg." He was a tremendously energetic man, honest but narrow, one of the best of the old style autocratic rulers. He would listen to no opinions but his own; and he drove the colonists to work as hard as he himself worked.

Under Stuyvesant New Amsterdam revived. In 1652 it was given a charter as a "city." That is, it was made a separate body within the general colony, under a government of its own. New Amsterdam, or New York, was the first of our United States cities to be thus chartered.

New Amsterdam had always admitted people of every sort. Now it became cosmopolitan indeed for so small a town. One traveller records that nineteen different languages were spoken in its streets. The chief ones were Dutch and French; but English was rapidly gathering importance with the coming of the New England pioneers.

15. ALL FAITHS AND PEOPLES GATHERED IN NEW NETHERLAND

Against this New England inflow, Stuyvesant was in constant struggle. It persisted in spite of him. The Connecticut folk were ever moving westward in search of fertile lands whereon to plant their homes in religious freedom. Holland welcomed all religious refugees who thus placed themselves under her rule; they increased her strength.

Stuyvesant, however, saw that these New Englanders were not coming humbly begging for shelter, but defiantly, seeking self-government. Instead of submitting thankfully to the Dutch rule, they were far more likely to overthrow it. Hence, Stuyvesant, to check their coming, opposed each new religious sect.

His own masters, the Dutch merchant owners of New Netherland, protested. They insisted on religious freedom.

Peter Stuyvesant

The New Amsterdam City Seal

They even welcomed Jews to New Amsterdam, at a time when Jews were excluded from all America except the Spanish West Indies. Yet Stuyvesant arrested Quakers and treated them almost as severely as Boston was doing. Moreover he would allow no churches to be erected for public worship except those of the Dutch Protestant Church and the governmental English or "Anglican" Church. He thus defied his own Company as he defied everybody else.

16. THE SWEDES DROVE OTHER NATIONS FROM THE DELAWARE

Meanwhile Sweden, encouraged by her first success on the Delaware, sent out to New Sweden several hundred soldiers and colonists, Finns as well as Swedes. They were commanded by John Printz a Swedish nobleman, a thundering giant of a man weighing nearly four hundred pounds. His soldiers and also his own energy gave him complete control of the Delaware valley.

Printz selected for his capital the junction of the Delaware with the Schuylkill, which means the "hidden river." He there erected a strong settlement on ground now part of Philadelphia. The Dutch at nearby Fort Beversrede protested; but Printz defied them. For eight years (1643-1651) he ruled the Delaware valley, compelling the Dutch and all others to acknowledge his authority, and forcing every trading ship to salute him as it sailed up the river.

English colonists from New England tried several times to plant settlements, but Printz drove them out. He even drove away an English nobleman who came with ships and a royal charter to settle the supposedly empty region for England.

17. STUYVESANT CRUSHED SWEDEN'S POWER IN AMERICA

But Sweden's power in America depended on her strength in Europe; and that was brief. There was a celebrated general peace made in Europe in 1648, and Sweden was left exhausted. This soon became so evident that the Dutch dared defy Sweden, which they had been unwilling to do before.

Stuyvesant sent ships and soldiers to recapture the Delaware valley. Printz had returned home, and there was no

one to take his thunderous place against the Dutch. The peaceful colonists of New Sweden easily surrendered, and accepted Dutch Rule (1655).

Thus, after an existence of only seventeen years, the Swedish power in America was ended. The Swedish and

The Old Swedish Church at Wilmington, Delaware

Finnish settlers and their descendants remained under the Dutch and afterward under English rule. With the few Dutch who had always been among them, these Swedes and Finns made up the earliest population of Delaware, Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey. They were an able people, intelligent, patient, hard working, and strong.

18. THE ENGLISH SEIZED NEW NETHERLAND

The fate which Stuyvesant had brought upon the Swedes he himself was the next to suffer. It came upon him from the English. England, as we have seen, was striving with Holland for the commercial mastery of the world. In 1664 an English fleet sailed into the harbor of New Amsterdam. Its commander asserted that this region had always belonged to England. Holland and England were at peace; yet he demanded the surrender of the entire colony.

Stuyvesant sought to resist the invaders, but the colony was far too weak. Moreover its people had no special loyalty or love for the rule of the Dutch merchant company. So they refused to risk their lives and property in a hopeless resistance. Stuyvesant raged; but his people compelled him to yield. Thus all this central region between Maryland and New England was now, after half a century of Dutch or Swedish rule, transferred by conquest to England.

King Charles II, who was at this time new upon the English throne, promptly made a grant of the entire region to his brother James. This brother afterward became king as James II. In 1664 however, James was known only as the Duke of York, so the name of the captured province and its chief city were both changed to New York.

19. HOLLAND TRADED NEW YORK FOR A COLONY ELSEWHERE

The Dutch in Europe made vigorous protest against this high handed seizure of their colony in time of peace. Holland and England were soon afterward at war, and Dutch fleets raided the American coast. They harassed Virginia in 1667, capturing an English warship on the James river, and they recaptured New York (1673). A peace was made in 1674, and Holland might have had her New York colony

again; but she did not want it. The colony had cost more money than it brought in; and sooner than wait in hope of future profit, the Dutch traders yielded the whole region to England.

They received in exchange some smaller but better paying colonies in the tropics. It is hard for us to realize that the wild South American land of Dutch Guiana, which even

Minuit Purchasing Manhattan Island

today is undeveloped, could once have been reckoned as having more value than the whole of New York and the neighboring States. Yet so it was considered by the shrewd Dutch traders.

Thus, after 1674, Holland dropped wholly out of the long struggle between the European nations as to which should possess North America. There remained only France and Spain and England.

20. THE SETTLERS HOPED FOR SELF-RULE UNDER ENGLAND

The fact now began to be realized that the American settlers themselves were to have some voice in saying which country was to hold rule over them. Sweden's colonists had been staunch to her; because even under the noisy Printz, they had been allowed a considerable measure of self-government. The Dutch colonists, except for the chartering of New York City, had been granted no part in their own rule. They had been regarded as mere servants of the Holland company, wholly under the command of the rulers it might choose to send them.

Stuyvesant in particular, while a wise and good governor, had been violently domineering. He had been quick to crush the least sign of independence. His Dutch settlers had resisted him, clinging sturdily to what few rights they possessed. This was one reason why they had been so ready to accept the change to English rule.

Knowing how completely the New England colonies managed their own government, the Dutch settlers now hoped for something of the New England freedom. Indeed, they were promised this, and also promised continued possession of their own land and property, if they would remain in New York. England knew already the difficulty of getting colonists, and was anxious not to lose these she had so easily acquired.

21. THEY RECEIVED ONLY A SHADOW OF FREEDOM

Thus Holland's subjects of New Amsterdam were in every way encouraged to become England's freemen of New York; and life there went on much as it had done before. The Duke of York was at first liberal and even generous. When, however, his control over the colony became secure,

he changed his purpose. Bit by bit he began taking away the self-government of the colonists.

Along the Delaware there was more trouble at the start, and more peace afterward. The Swedes had not been promised security in their ownings, as the Dutch had been. The Swedes were treated as a conquered people, and their first English governors imposed on them severely.

The natural result followed. Many of the Delaware settlers abandoned their homes and began moving into Maryland or back beyond England's reach in what is now central Pennsylvania. Those who remained were finally induced to stay by granting them the full rights of Englishmen.

22. JERSEY WAS MADE A SEPARATE PROVINCE UNDER CARTERET

The shift to English authority had its most marked effect in New Jersey. James immediately granted this portion of his New York province to two English noblemen, who were among his chief friends. The more active of the two was Sir George Carteret, former governor of the British island of Jersey. From this island, Carteret's province was named New Jersey.

Before this change of ownership was known in America, settlers from New England came flocking into the open lands of Jersey. Some even received "grants" from New York's new English governor. All of them now feared they might be turned out of their lands by the new owners. The latter, however, sent out as governor, Philip Carteret, a young kinsman of Sir George; and Philip promptly arranged a fair agreement about the land, and persuaded all the settlers to remain.

The young governor promised his people even greater self-government than they had found in New England; and he kept his promise. Eastern New Jersey enjoyed under

him a larger degree of freedom than any other part of the vast American realm of James, Duke of York.

23. CARTERET WELCOMED FRENCH AND CATHOLIC SETTLERS

Philip Carteret makes an attractive figure in our history. On his first landing (1665) he came ashore in dramatic style, carrying a hoe over his shoulder. This was a symbol that he came in peace, and meant to share the labors of his people.

England's isle of Jersey lies directly off the French coast; and Carteret and those of his followers who came from Jersey were more like Frenchmen than Englishmen. Many of them spoke only French. Carteret's own high manner and warm politeness so puzzled the New England settlers that they long distrusted him; but he won their faith at last. He made the town which the New Englanders were already building, his capital, calling it Elizabethtown, after the wife of Sir George.

Many of Carteret's followers were Catholics, and he declared that New Jersey would protect all forms of Christianity. Indeed, this whole middle region, with its Dutch beginnings and its generally cosmopolitan character, showed an increasing liberality in religious matters. Its influence helped to soften the antagonism between Puritan New England and the Anglican South.

24. CARTERET COULD NOT PLEASE HIS VARIED COLONISTS

Despite his liberal government, Carteret had much trouble with his colonists. They had all promised to pay the proprietors a small rent for their land. This was fair enough, as the land had not been cleared by them until after they leased it from Carteret, knowing his claim. Ignoring this agreement, the settlers constantly objected to paying

HOW NEW AMSTERDAM BECAME NEW YORK

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HOW NEW AMSTERDAM BECAME NEW YORK

On a September morning in 1664, four British frigates under Colonel Richard Nicolls anchored off the old Dutch fort or "battery" in what is now New York Harbor, and sent an envoy ashore to demand the surrender of the city under threat of bombarding it with their cannon. The little Dutch city of New Amsterdam was wholly unprepared; but it had a gallant Governor in old Peter Stuyvesant. He defiantly summoned his few soldiers and made his cannon ready. The hopeless defense and resulting destruction were prevented by the Dutch citizens themselves. They united in signing a protest which they presented to Stuyvesant and to which he yielded.

The chief minister of the city, Dominie Megapolensis, is said to have pleaded with the fiery Governor until Stuyvesant turned away in utter despair, saying, "I had rather be carried to my grave." His assistants then ran up the white flag of surrender.

the rent. Whenever there was trouble, they avoided the issue by accusing Carteret of being a Frenchman. They said he plotted secretly for France.

The town of Newark was founded (1667) by the intensely religious Puritan exiles from New Haven, and became the leader of opposition to Carteret. Soon the Puritans outnumbered the governor's followers, outvoted them in the Assembly which he called, and attempted to pass restrictive religious laws like those of New England. Thus New Jersey also had to face the disastrous confusion which arises when rulers and people are divided. A royally appointed governor differed with his colonists at almost every point, and society was torn with endless quarrels.

The governors of New York, jealous of Carteret's power, upheld the complaint of his colonists. Finally, one governor claimed New Jersey as part of his province, and sent men to arrest Carteret (1680). This they did secretly, seizing him by night and carrying him off, treating him with such brutality that he was never well again. The English king restored Carteret to power, and angrily dismissed his oppressor.

25. THE QUAKERS GAINED CONTROL OF NEW JERSEY

The next people to take an active interest in these middle regions were the Quakers. This sect had grown to much importance and wealth in England during Charles II's reign. The early Quakers, you will recall, had brought trouble upon themselves in New England by denouncing the Puritans in their own churches. This led the leaders of the Quaker sect to plan a separate American colony, one in which their people could speak out "inspirations" and rebukes, unhampered by restrictive laws.

Shrewsbury in New Jersey seems to have been the first

town in the world built as a separate Quaker settlement (1667). A Quaker company then purchased western New Jersey from its proprietors (1674); and this was for a time a wholly separate province from East Jersey. So here was another widespread religious sect seeking America for freedom of conscience, just as Huguenots, Puritans, English Catholics and Belgian Walloons had already done.

Never has any other land received so many refugees of such varied faiths, all struggling against oppression. By the suffering of all her people, America was deeply taught the lesson of liberty in religion.

26. THE PRESBYTERIANS OF SCOTLAND FLED TO NEW JERSEY

In 1680 old Sir George Carteret died; and his heirs sold East Jersey to a company of Quakers and Scotch Presbyterians. This ended Philip Carteret's long and able rule of the province. He was succeeded by a Quaker governor (1681).

The Presbyterians were another religious sect who now began to need an asylum. Their faith was the "State religion" of Scotland, but was not legally approved in England, and the two countries were now becoming closely united under one kingship. The English government dealt severely with Presbyterians and many of the sect were helped by Scottish leaders to migrate to Jersey. Soon they outnumbered the Quakers there, and the control of the colony passed into their hands. Indeed, East Jersey has often been called "the cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America."

No other colony except New York was built up by so many and such varied peoples as was New Jersey. To its first Dutch and Swedish folk, it had added the New England Puritans from New Haven, the French Catholics

PENNS VISION—BEHOLD MY SERVANT WHOM I UPHOLD TO OPEN THE BLIND EYES-TO BRING OUT THE
PRISONERS FROM THE PRISON AND THEM THAT SIT IN DARKNESS OUT OF THE PRISON HOUSE
SING UNTO THE LORD A NEW SONG YE THAT GO DOWN TO THE SEA

Penn's Dream of the Service of His Colony to the Oppressed of Europe

From the painting by Violet Oakley in the State Capitol of Pennsylvania. Print copyrighted by Curtis and Cameron

under Carteret, and now the English Quakers and Scotch Presbyters. There were still other groups to follow.

27. A NEW COLONY WAS CARVED OUT FOR WILLIAM PENN

In 1681 a wealthy Quaker gentleman of the royal court, William Penn, was granted the whole of what is now Pennsylvania. This proved much the most important of the Quaker efforts at colonization. Penn's father, Admiral Penn, had loaned large sums of money to King Charles, to build up England's navy. Charles, being unable to pay the debt, gladly accepted young Penn's suggestion that he be paid by a grant of land in America.

So the king carved out for Penn this first inland American province, the west shore of the Delaware north of Maryland. King Charles even insisted on naming the land "Penn's sylvania" which means Penn's woodlands. Young Penn modestly protested; but the king told him the name was not given for him but for his father, the great admiral.

With such careless grandeur had the English kings made these huge grants to their favorites, that no one was quite clear as to where one grant overlapped another. Pennsylvania, especially, intruded upon all the older colonies; and disputes at once arose as to its boundaries.

28. THE BOUNDARY LINE HERE SEPARATED NORTH AND SOUTH

Lord Baltimore protested that his Maryland property covered a large part of the region granted to Penn. Virginia also had originally been granted this land. Even Connecticut and Massachusetts had claims to some part of it. Moreover, the Duke of York claimed the whole as belonging to his grant of New York. His royal brother had given him the entire Dutch colony, which clearly included the land along the Delaware river as well as along the Hudson.

King Charles, eager to wipe out his debt to Penn, overrode all these other claims. Nevertheless the actual boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania remained in dispute for a century. It was finally measured and marked

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Penn's First Visit to Philadelphia

in 1767 by two surveyors, Mason and Dixon. As this line roughly divided our Southern States from those of the North, "Mason and Dixon's line" became an important phrase in our history, as marking the separation.

The affectionate name of "Dixie land" for the South has

been said to come from this otherwise unknown surveyor. Another tradition, however, connects the name with Louisiana. In the old days when New Orleans was still half French and was the rich trading port for the whole Mississippi valley, its merchants used a ten dollar bill which had "dix," the French word for ten, printed across its face as well as the English word. These bills became known all through the great valley as "dixes," and the prosperous Southern region was called the land of dixes, or Dixie land.

29. PENN WON THE SWEDES AND DUTCH TO JOIN HIM

In 1681 three shiploads of colonists, mostly Quakers, came out to the Delaware river under the lead of Penn's kinsman, Sir William Markham. This, it should be noted, was a very different matter from the founding of a new settlement in a wilderness, such as Jamestown, Plymouth and New Netherland had been.

The original settlers of the Delaware valley, Swedes, Finns and Dutch, had by this time dwelt along the river bank for over half a century. In many families a second and even third generation had been born in America; and there were hundreds of people along the river. These had been governed from New York as part of the Dutch province. This older populace hardly knew whether to greet the newcomers as friends or foes.

Markham promptly promised these settlers the ownership of their lands; and his Quaker followers were so gentle and friendly that they were soon wholly welcome. As their capital, they founded Philadelphia, which means the city of brotherly love. It was intended from the first to be the central city of a thickly settled land, so it was laid out in regular squares for streets, as no earlier American town

had been. It rapidly grew to be the chief city of America.

30. PENN SECURED DELAWARE ALSO AND RULED WISELY

The region which is now Delaware had not been part of Penn's grant. He realized, however, that this whole river valley was really one district, so he bargained for its lower end with the nominal owner, the Duke of York. James readily consented to cut this lower Delaware region off from New York, and add it to Penn's domain. The latter thus secured a second colony. Little Delaware was often treated as part of Pennsylvania, but always retained something of a separate existence and finally became wholly separate.

Duke James, who had gathered nothing but expense from his province for seventeen years, was glad to give up Delaware, and so be rid of that much of his troubles. Lord Baltimore, on the contrary, protested vigorously at this loss of a region which his colonists had never occupied, but which seemed clearly included in his Maryland grant.

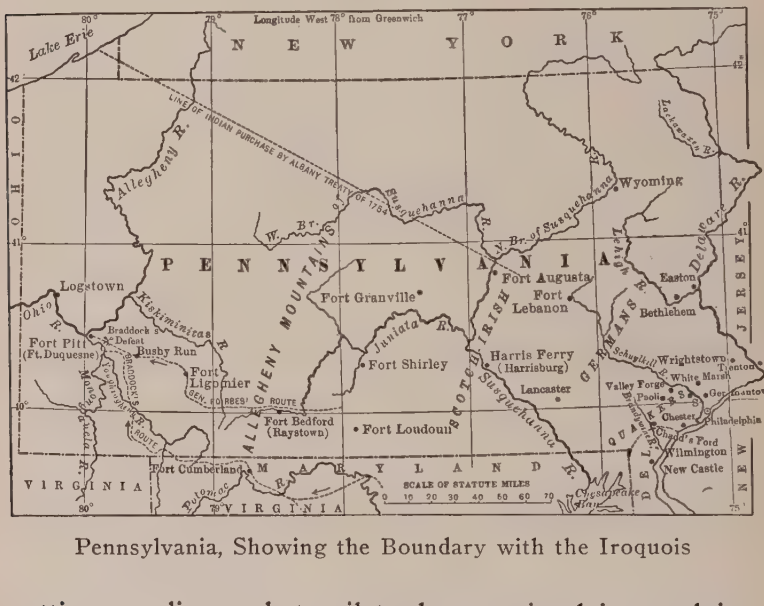
Penn himself came over to his double colony the next year (1682) with hundreds more Quaker settlers. He was enthusiastically received. Never was a new state begun under brighter promise. Penn stayed with his colonists less than two years, but he did much to model their government after his own keen and kindly spirit. Indeed, Penn's wise and noble Quaker figure dominates his colonies, as that of Williams does in Rhode Island, or Hooker in Connecticut.

31. PENN WON THE INDIANS BUT COULD NOT PROTECT THEM

Penn met the neighboring Indian chiefs under a noted great elm tree at Shackamaxon, and made a peace treaty with them, and purchased their title to the Philadelphia lands (1683). He even journeyed far inland to visit his

Indian friends. He took part in the athletic sports of the redmen, and is reported to have outjumped the best of them.

By this time alcoholic liquors had begun their terrible ravage among the tribes. Penn tried to prevent the Indians



Pennsylvania, Showing the Boundary with the Iroquois

getting any liquor; but evil traders persisted in supplying it in secret. The Indians were earnestly and repeatedly warned against it. They saw fully its terrible effects upon their race, but they lacked the strength of will to refuse it.

Never has the awful curse which liquor casts upon an ignorant or weak-willed folk, been made more startlingly plain. The redmen did little but drink and doze, plunging from frenzy to feebleness and back again, sinking into ever-deepening poverty of mind and body. Entire tribes were wiped out as by a plague.

Thus Pennsylvania's policy of friendliness with the redmen proved almost as deadly as New England's wars of destruction, and more deadly than Virginia's way of driving them far off amid the inland forests. Only the Iroquois

Penn at the Age of Twenty-four
From a noted contemporary painting, probably by Sir Peter Lely

were resolute enough to resist to some extent the ruin which the white man's tempting drink caused among the childish and irresponsible redmen.

32. MANY GERMAN MENNONITES CAME TO PENNSYLVANIA

Penn visited his colony again in later years; but most of his life was spent in England as the foremost champion not only of his fellow Quakers but of all who were in any way oppressed. He is one of England's noblest figures. Penn's

mother had been a Hollander. He had also many German connections; so he now sent to Germany to invite people there to join his colony. The invitation was specially meant for German Mennonites, a sect like the Quakers.

These Mennonites came to Pennsylvania in such a swarm that they finally outnumbered the Quakers. The Germans showed themselves less adaptive than most peoples to the new American influences. They clung to their old language and customs, and have kept something of these even down to our own day. They form part of the folk still known as the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

Between them and the Quakers, Penn's colony increased in numbers even faster than Massachusetts had done half a century before. By 1685 there were five thousand people in Pennsylvania; ten years later there were over twenty thousand. Settlers even came from far-off central Europe, Bohemians from the land now called Czechoslovakia. These Bohemians, a religious sect known as "the Moravian brethren," centered around the town of Bethlehem. No other colony had grown so rapidly as Pennsylvania. Philadelphia soon rivaled Boston as the largest and richest of American cities.

33. NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY FELL UNDER KINGLY TYRANNY

The southern and western parts of the old Dutch New Netherland thus slipped entirely out of the hands of Duke James, and became Penn's prosperous provinces of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Over the middle section, New Jersey, the Duke still claimed dominion, though he had sold to Carteret and others all his rights to the actual land. The northern section, New York, was the only part that remained wholly in his power.

James had almost lost hope of making any profit from

America. For the governorship of New York, however, he selected Sir Edmund Andros; and under Andros, English rule reached perhaps its greatest power in America. He first ruled New York for seven years; and it was he who abducted Governor Carteret from New Jersey. That high handed act led to Andros' recall (1681) and to the Duke's promising regular charters of self-government to both New York and Jersey.

This yielding mood changed wholly when, in 1685, the Duke became King James II. He showed himself the most insistent of all the Stuart kings in striving to force his personal will on all his people. The English government had long considered gathering the colonies under one governor. King James selected Andros as a strong and stubborn fighter well-fitted to force the royal will upon America.

Andros was made governor not only of New York and New Jersey but of all New England also. He was ordered to take away all the old royal grants and charters on which the colonists based their claim to rule themselves. He was to compel obedience, as it had never been compelled before.

34. KING JAMES WAS DETHRONED AND AMERICA REJOICED

In Dutch New York Andros met as resolute an opposition as that which, as we have already seen, was shown him in Puritan New England. It is hard to say to what height of revolt the exasperated colonists might have been driven, had not England itself revolted against James and driven him from his throne in 1689.

By that date all the colonies from New Hampshire to South Carolina were at one in their rage against the king. The settlers along the entire coast, whether Dutch, French

or English, whether Swedes, Germans, Scots, Finns of Walloons, all equally resented the taking away of rights once promised them. They had all reached a similar outlook upon life, the American outlook of self-dependence.

The brief struggle against James thus helped America to find herself. It showed the colonists that they all desired the same freedom, all faced the same danger and would share the same fate.

This was a long step toward making of them a single, new, American people.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

How Brotherhood grew from Suffering, and Prosperity from Labor

(1689–1744)

I. MORE COMFORTABLE TIMES REPLACED THE FIRST HARD DAYS

The British Revolution of 1689 brings us to a new era in America. The colonists felt that their many protests had proved just; England itself had rebelled against its kings to maintain the "rights of Englishmen." A new harmony thus began. Our people had always been proud of being English; now they became more strongly so. As compared with the former days of dissatisfaction, this was an era of content.

Moreover, the colonies were now firmly planted. Travellers across the ocean no longer landed here in a wilderness and faced starvation. Our seaport towns were well built up; our farms gave abundant crops. Life had become civilized. There was always the wild land beyond, for such as desired it; but the majority of Americans now dwelt in comfort, toiling at ordinary tasks.

As yet the various colonies stood apart, separate, very different in character, and rather inclined to quarrel with one another. Even the alliance of New England in King Philip's war had not led to friendship, for each colony had disputed as to its fair share of the war's burden. We have now to trace the century of effort and of suffering which at last drew these opposing little states together to form the strong union we know today.

2. A NEW AMERICAN RACE WAS DEVELOPING

Many of the American men and women of the eighteenth century knew Europe only as a tradition. They had not, like the first settlers, been born there. They, their parents, and perhaps their grandparents, had been born in America, and knew only the new life here. That free, sturdy, outdoor life had bred in all of them a love of liberty, and much self-confidence in caring for themselves. They were like a new race, an American race.

The many nationalities here had not yet fused wholly into one; but they were well along the road to do so. Already our people's resemblances were greater than their differences. They were no longer submissive European peasants. They were self-reliant freemen who had learned to do their own thinking.

Indeed they were so self-assertive that it was not easy for them to realize that one man alone can never really protect himself, that freedom is impossible without union. Only by slow degrees did they learn that their little communities must each yield somewhat to the others' way, must band together by tolerance and by compromise. Group action, when built on friendly argument, carries a strength of wisdom broader than that of individuals. Without united action, the colonies were sure to lose the very freedom over which they disputed.

3. ENGLAND ITSELF BECAME MORE FREE AND WARLIKE

Moreover 1689 caused two great changes in England; and these in their turn brought changes to America. In England, King James II was driven to flee to France; the grasping Stuart kings lost their kingdom forever. A new king was invited to the throne. As he thus came to rule

at the request of the Parliament, it was plainly settled that he had no "divine right." He was there to serve the nation, not to command.

Thus England won her own freedom from her kings. Control of the government still lay in the hands of the upper classes. Scarce one in fifty of her people could vote for members of Parliament, and the aristocracy controlled the government. Yet England was now much nearer to rule by public sentiment. Before, our story told mainly of what some English king had ordered in America; hereafter it must speak rather of the British Parliament.

The other great change was in England's national alliances. The new king, William III, was a foreigner wedded to an English princess. He had long been famous as William, Prince of Orange, the leader of sturdy little Holland. His career is one of the most impressive in all history, as showing what patience and courage can accomplish with small means. Under him, Holland successfully resisted the most powerful of the French kings, Louis XIV, the "Magnificent Monarch." Louis was reaching out to master western Europe; and England had upheld him. Her Stuart kings had sought his help, and had in return agreed to almost anything the Magnificent Monarch demanded.

4. THE LONG WARS WITH THE FRENCH IN CANADA BEGAN

England's calling of "Dutch William" to the throne meant that her people had wakened to the danger of French mastery. They were resolved to stand with Holland and her allies. Thus England became the leader against France. She became once more a fighting nation, with all the miseries and the inspirations that fighting brings.

This English change was vital in its effect upon America. In former European wars, the colonies had been too tiny

to take an active part. Now the wars between France and England brought war between their colonies.

France owned Canada; so, for over seventy years, the wild Canadian "coureurs de bois" and their Indian allies were constantly attacking our northern frontier. Sometimes we had also to meet the well drilled soldiers of France in open battle; or her great war-ships threatened our coast.

Sweden and Holland had been easily crowded out of North America. Spain's dominion here was steadily weakening, as Spain herself grew weak. But France in those days was a power stronger than England; and their battle for rule over America was fought on equal terms. Each hoped to master the entire continent.

5. INDIAN WARFARE MADE FRONTIER LIFE TERRIBLE

The most tragic side of this struggle in its resulting misery to America was that the French, as we have seen, had made friends of all the Indians except the Iroquois. The redmen were awake at last to the way they were being crowded out of their lands by the whites, and were eager for battle. Hence a war with France meant a horror of Indian raids and massacres. Sometimes the Indians even ventured upon war by themselves, with only indirect aid from the French.

We had known Indian wars before, but no such constant dread as this. Along all the frontier, death, perhaps a hideous death by torture, became a daily threat. No mother slept at night without trembling for the babe at her side. They might be wakened by Indian yells and meet flames and the dread tomahawk.

A different generation replaced the unwarlike folk who had built our farms. Men learned to fight the Indians in

their own stealthy way, sometimes with their own cruelty. In King Philip's War, the redskins, man for man, had outmatched the whites. Now there grew up a breed of white frontiersmen, far surer shots and deadlier fighters than the Indians. These white men ignored all treaties and all pledges in the tragic war of races.

6. WILLIAM III STRENGTHENED BOTH AMERICA AND ENGLAND

As to the great change which had come over England itself, this proved not wholly fortunate for America. The Stuart kings, while often unjust, were weak; and America had prospered despite them. England, being now reorganized under a strong government, was far better able to force her will upon the colonies when any point of disagreement arose.

No serious quarrels sprang up at first. King William III was an able ruler who desired the good will of the colonies. He saw, however, that in their disunited state they wasted their powers disputing with one another. He wanted every possible aid in his great contest against France; and he therefore planned to continue the Stuart policy of uniting the colonies, even against their will.

Upon the whole, America owes William gratitude. He helped her with strength and wisdom. Later kings and parliaments, however, made a very different use of his strong government organization. Its increased power was employed to oppress America. Thus our people were driven to the great Revolution of 1776.

7. SOME COLONIES OVERTHREW THEIR FORMER GOVERNORS

Let us return to the events of 1689. America eagerly welcomed the crowning of King William. Each colony used the revolt in its own way. The opposition of the Southern colonies had been directed against unsatisfactory governors rather than against England's government. In

South Carolina, one of the eight owners of the colony led the popular party in expelling the owners' governor (1690). In Maryland, there was a bloodless uprising. Lord Baltimore's governor was expelled, and the victors reported that they were holding the government for King William.

In the middle and northern colonies, where Andros was overthrowing charters and ruling by force, action was more

Boston in 1743, from An Old Print

violent. The Puritans did not wait for William's victory. As soon as England's revolt began, they joined it so as to regain their power. Andros was in Boston at the time. He had soldiers and warships at command. Yet there was a sudden bold uprising, and he and his chief supporters were cast into jail. They were charged with many abuses of power, and were also accused, quite baselessly, of plotting to turn the government over to France.

King William declared that Andros must be tried on the charges brought against him. Massachusetts wanted no trial; she wanted to keep her foe securely in jail. Only when the king insisted firmly, did she yield and send Andros

back to England for trial. She also urgently called on the new king to restore her ancient government, and to give back her charter. Obviously her new loyalty was not over trustful.

8. NEW YORK HAD ALMOST A CIVIL WAR

The change of rulers brought an even more exciting struggle in New York. There Andros was represented by a deputy-governor. When this assistant made no move toward proclaiming William as king, the people became anxious. They feared that they might really be handed over helpless to the cruelties of the mighty king of France, who had been terribly severe in crushing the Protestants of his own land.

The exiled King James belonged to the Catholic faith and had always been an ally of the Catholic French king. Now the two kings together might send a French army from Canada to capture New York. Andros' deputy, it was whispered, would assist by handing over the colony to the French. Then New York would be used as a center from which to conquer the other colonies north and south.

Something of this sort was indeed planned by King Louis except that Andros' deputy-governor could have had no part in it. However, the anger of the people drove him from New York; and the colonists, led by one of their own militia captains, Jacob Leisler, took over the government.

This was no more than had been done in many places; but there were in New York several members of the governor's council who felt that they had a better right than Leisler to act for the colony. Their opposition to him led to what was almost civil war within New York.

9. NEW YORK LONG REMAINED DIVIDED BETWEEN FACTIONS

King William sent a general message to America saying that whatever officials were for the moment in control anywhere, should retain control until Britain had time to examine and adjust matters. This worked very well everywhere except in New York. The people elsewhere had already set up governments they approved. But in New York both Leisler and his opponents claimed to be the officials whom the new king meant.

Leisler continued to hold control by force for nearly two years. Then a royal governor was sent over. He upheld the opposing faction and arrested Leisler as a traitor. So bitter had the two factions become that Leisler's foes appealed to this governor while he was drunk, and persuaded him to sign an order for the leader's death. Thus Leisler was executed while actually supporting King William.

When the king learned the wicked facts, he did what was possible to make amends to Leisler's widow and his friends; but the governor who had condemned Leisler could not be punished, for he had himself died shortly after his victim. The savage quarrel divided New York into two factions, which remained angrily opposed for many years.

10. NEW YORK BECAME THE CENTER OF WAR AGAINST CANADA; A FIRST EFFORT TOWARD UNION WAS MADE BY THE COLONIES

Meanwhile the war which all men had foreseen between England and France, or rather between the great opposing leaders, William the Resolute and Louis the Magnificent, began late in 1689. The French then threatened, as the New Yorkers had foreseen, to attack the colonies by way of the Hudson.

At this, Leisler, then in his temporary power, called a

meeting of all the colonies at Albany (1690) to plan some form of united defense against the French. Albany was selected so that the Iroquois Indians might also join in the alliance. Only a few colonies sent representatives, and no union sprang from this meeting; but a plan of union was at least discussed. Moreover, the other colonies agreed to give New York some aid against Canada.

This was the first American "congress," the first attempt made by the colonists' own will, to gather their scattered governments in one united action. It was the first step on the long road which took ninety-nine years to lead the colonies to their final completed Union.

II. THE COLONIES WERE UNFITTED TO WAGE WAR SUCCESSFULLY

Neither France nor England was able in this war to put forth much strength in America. The struggle in Europe was too equal and too severe. France sent Canada some troops, and sent her also that able leader Frontenac, whose story we have already told. England promised her colonies ships and men, but was unable to make good and give them much real aid.

Our people were far more numerous than the Canadians; but our colonies were so disunited that they could do little against the united military government of Canada. Our colony governments disputed with one another as to leadership and troops and money. Each Assembly disputed with its governor.

Several combined attacks were attempted against Canada; but they were feebly managed, and brought more suffering to our own men than to the enemy. Thus we had little success, except when some one settlement was directly attacked by the French or Indians. It then managed its own defense, and usually did this heroically.

12. TRAGIC INDIAN RAVAGES AFFLICTED BOTH SIDES

The war began with Indian raids, encouraged by either side. The Iroquois invaded Canada for that terrible massacre at Lachine. The French and Indians destroyed Schenectady on the New York frontier, massacring its inhabitants (1691).

Maine and New Hampshire were so hideously ravaged that the Maine settlements were almost wholly abandoned. Canso, York and Pemaquid, the three chief towns there, were all destroyed. At Durham in New Hampshire nearly a hundred settlers were tortured to death by their red captors. Even Groton in Massachusetts, a town only thirty miles west of Boston, was raided (1694).

Haverhill in Massachusetts was burned in 1697, a raid made famous by the story of Hannah Dustin. She was carried off a prisoner by the Indians but managed to free herself from bonds. With the help of another woman and a boy, she killed ten of her captors while they slept. She then guided her two comrades home in a captured canoe. Even the women of America now learned from necessity how to fight in the savage Indian way.

13. LARGER INVASIONS ON EACH SIDE BROKE DOWN

As for the larger operations in the war, the first was the capture of the Nova Scotia seaport, Port Royal (1690). This expedition was conducted mainly by Massachusetts. It was led by Sir William Phips, a colonist of Maine who had been knighted for recovering the wealth of a sunken Spanish galleon. Eight ships sailed suddenly from Boston, found Port Royal unprepared, and captured it. A French fleet recaptured it the next year; so the net result was only a heavy loss of men and money on both sides.

Massachusetts then gave Sir William charge of the strongest force it could raise, and sent him to crush Canada by capturing Quebec. This effort was a complete failure. Frontenac scarcely had to defeat it; the difficulties of weather and distance did that. The voyage was long, and the weather bad. Supplies ran low; sickness broke out; and far more men perished of disease than in fighting.

This indeed was the tragic fate of many a martial expedition in those days. American distances were too vast for the slow methods of European warfare. Man's means of travel were too feeble. Disease, starvation and the wilderness defeated one little army after another. Half a dozen American-British efforts to conquer Canada failed in this way during the next twenty years; and French attempts against Boston or New York met the same fate.

Only the Indian way of fighting continued to bring its horrible victories. A brief European peace was made in 1697; but before it checked the Indian raids, European war broke out again in 1701. Again the colonists suffered for European ambitions.

14. KING WILLIAM REORGANIZED THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

Early during this far reaching period of war, King William began his effort to strengthen the colonies by reorganizing their form of government. He first tried to bring them all to the form which was called a "royal colony."

In a royal colony people were allowed to have their own Assembly and make some of their own laws; but the king appointed a governor who had Britain's support and thus possessed as much power as the Assembly. He was usually also aided by a Council or upper house of government whose members were appointed by Britain. Some colonies were already of this form; others now became so.

King William appointed the same governor for New York and New Jersey, and sought similarly to unite other colonies. In New England, he permitted Connecticut and Rhode Island to resume the much loved charters which they had lost in Andros' time. Under these the colonists chose their own governors and made all their own laws, except when Parliament chose to interfere. The king hesitated, however, to restore the old charter of Massachusetts. Under it she had been too nearly an independent Puritan state.

15. MASSACHUSETTS RECEIVED A MORE DEMOCRATIC CHARTER

The struggle over the Massachusetts charter was both important and dramatic. The non-Puritan folk, who had now become quite numerous in Massachusetts, did not want the old charter returned. They even made petitions against it. Under it only approved church members had voted; and many even of the Puritans themselves, especially the younger ones, the "third generation" of American birth were not approved church members. Less than a quarter of the adult males of the colony could vote.

So, with support from many sides, the king gave Massachusetts a new charter. This took away the old church supremacy. The vote, instead of being limited to Puritan church-members, was given to all men owning a small amount of property. Thus government became in theory a matter of protecting earthly possessions instead of enforcing religious ideas.

The king consoled the Puritans for the loss of the old charter by appointing their leaders to all the important offices under the new one. This even included the appointment of an American governor, Sir William Phips. Phips was thus honored for his capture of Port Royal, and before his tragic failure at Quebec had been heralded abroad.

16. THE OLD PLYMOUTH COLONY WAS ENDED; NEW ENGLAND WAS REMODELED

The new charter pleased Massachusetts on another point. It formally united with her not only Maine, which she had so long doubtfully claimed, but also the old original New England colony, Plymouth. This union was part of the king's plan for a stronger America. Plymouth, exhausted by King Philip's war, had grown too weak to defend herself or to have many friends. So there was small protest even from her own people when she was thus swallowed up in Massachusetts.

New England now took on the form she was to hold until after our Revolutionary War. There were four colonies. Massachusetts, rich and wide spreading, included Maine. New Hampshire, poor and Indian plagued, was thrust between the parts of the greater colony like a wedge. Rhode Island stood apart, still struggling with her problem of complete freedom of religious opinion. Connecticut almost rivalled Massachusetts in numbers, but contained a poorer, hardier, more defiantly independent people.

Indeed these "Connecticut Yankees" were already seeking restlessly for greater freedom, further from the king's control. They ventured forth across the wilderness in such groups as Hooker had first led out from Massachusetts. These little groups founded so many new towns in new regions that in after days Connecticut proudly called herself "the Mother of States." In the South, Virginia laid just claim to the same title.

17. WITCHCRAFT TRIALS SHOWED THE MADNESS OF IGNORANCE

Massachusetts now gradually passed out of the control of her Puritan church leaders. Their rule was partly

shaken by the "Salem witchcraft" excitement, which broke out at this time (1692). Almost all the world then believed in witches; and in Europe executions for witchcraft continued to a much later time. Yet science and self-government had begun their great work of teaching men to measure truth and to keep watch against injustice. People were no longer ready to accept every charge of witchcraft raised by an enemy.

The folk of America, with their wider liberty of thought, would have seemed less likely than others to be carried away by any sudden frenzied fear of witchcraft. But in Massachusetts men had not been free to think; and the colony suffered the Salem witchcraft horror.

A group of young girls in Salem, "the afflicted children" as they were called, accused three elderly women of having bewitched them. Such people as doubted the children's wild tales were accused by them in turn. The courts tried case after case; and the courtroom became a scene of mad excitement. The children would scream out that they were being tortured, and the accused was then promptly condemned. Soon over a hundred people were in jail as witches. Nearly twenty were hanged.

Finally the girls' charges extended to include some of the highest gentry of the colony, even the governor's wife, Lady Mary Phips. The extravagance of these accusations, combined with the firm courage and piety with which many of the condemned faced death, wakened the people to the madness of which they were being guilty. The trials were stopped.

18. THE PEOPLE GAINED MORE CONTROL OVER GOVERNMENT

As some of the old time Puritan ministers had been the leaders in upholding these trials, they lost much of their

influence over the people. Massachusetts, which had been one of the most conservative and aristocratic of the colonies, passed, like Connecticut and Rhode Island, into the control of its people. These had been long trained in local self-government by their little "town-meetings" in which every voter could take a part.

Nevertheless, the "people's rule" of those days was still a very different matter from our modern democracy. The right of voting as granted in the various royal charters was limited to those who were supposed to be best fitted to use it wisely. Voters in almost every colony had to be adult, male, white, Christian or even Protestant, and owners of property.

The first of our American newspapers, those powerful educators of the people, was attempted in Massachusetts as early as 1690. It was, however, promptly suppressed by the colony's own government for venturing to discuss a political issue. Our first permanent newspaper, the Boston News Letter, was started in 1704.

19. PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND WERE MADE MORE FREE

Farther south, King William had much more trouble with his plans of reconstruction. William Penn had been so close a friend of the old government that the new one naturally distrusted him. He was even accused of treason and was for a time turned out of his ownership of Pennsylvania altogether. He bravely demanded an open trial, and completely disproved every charge against him. His colony was given back; but his authority over the settlers was made less than before.

The Lord Baltimore of that day lost still more than Penn. As the Maryland people had turned out their Catholic governor and begged to be freed from Catholic leadership,

Lord Baltimore was allowed to retain only his money rights. Power over Maryland's government was transferred to the king. Later, another Lord Baltimore, a Protestant, was again made "Lord Proprietor"; but Maryland continued much like the other "royal colonies."

The English Church was now officially established in Maryland, as it had long been in Virginia. The Catholics, not only of Maryland but everywhere in the colonies, suffered much persecution during this period of battle against Catholic France. The old "Toleration Act" of which Maryland had once been proud, now proved but little protection to her Catholics, though many of these had long ranked among the aristocracy of the colony.

20. VIRGINIA WAS PLACED UNDER GOVERNOR ANDROS

In Virginia, Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor in 1690. The king felt that much as Andros had been hated in New England and New York, he was really a very able and honorable official. Andros had merely been carrying out his king's orders against the Americans. Hence, King William, in his difficult task of doing justice everywhere and satisfying everybody, rewarded Andros by making him governor of a colony wherein he had no quarrels.

Andros, however, soon managed to make a new set of foes. There were several old English laws so useless and damaging to American business that even the royal governors of Virginia had allowed these laws to drop quietly out of use. Andros revived and enforced them with his usual blind severity. He had soon done almost as much harm in Virginia as before in the North.

Andros was chiefly opposed by Dr. James Blair, a learned Scottish clergyman, a personal friend of the king and a

warm champion of Virginia. Blair and Andros repeatedly poured their opposing stories into the king's ears, until finally Andros was recalled (1698), and so disappears from the story of America. He was an honest man, but hampered by an enormous inability to see any side of a question except his own.

Baltimore in 1752, from a Contemporary Print

21. NEW COLLEGES AROSE IN VIRGINIA AND THE NORTH

Dr. Blair had a special mission in America. The heads of the English church had appointed him to reorganize and strengthen their church here. He secured royal aid in founding an Anglican college in Virginia (1693), representing it as a balance to Harvard, the Puritan stronghold in New England. This Virginia college, the second in our country, was named after the king and queen, "William and Mary College." Its first graduation exercises were honored as a great event in Virginia (1700). The town which grew up around the college was made the capital of Virginia and was named Williamsburg.

Yale, the third of our colleges, was founded in Connecticut almost immediately afterward (1701). Then, after

a pause, there came a rush of colleges from 1740 onward. These included the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton in New Jersey, and King's College, afterward called Columbia, in New York. These marked the increasing demand for education. Soon almost every colony had a college.

It was as president of William and Mary college that Blair found himself drawn into dispute with Andros. The disputes spread until they covered almost every point in the government of Virginia. Through all the period of his rule over the college, Blair continued the acknowledged champion of the colony, the leader in its struggle to be ruled for its own good, not for the good of England's empire or the pleasure of her lords.

22. BRITAIN'S SHIPPING LAWS BRED DEFIANCE OF ALL LAW

You will recall that Parliament, way back in Cromwell's time, had begun passing laws for the purpose of keeping the colonies of Britain from trading with anybody except herself. These Navigation Acts had driven American ships and merchants to smuggling. That is, men traded with other lands and brought cargoes to America in defiance of the British laws.

These laws had, in fact, proved so impracticable that even the highest British officials, except for an occasional martinet like Andros, paid little attention to them. The American merchants and seamen carried on their illegal trade quite openly. But when men find themselves led to the repeated breaking of one law, they soon lose respect for law in general, and this is a disastrous condition for society. It plunges nations into anarchy. That is why we of today who make our own laws must study to have laws which are satisfactory to us all. The tyranny of a majority is as unjust as that of a Parliament, and is much more blind.

In the wake of the American smuggling, came piracy. This had long existed in the Spanish Indies. Now it spread northward from the Carolinas, even as far as New England. Rhode Island, New York and Philadelphia were particularly accused of welcoming pirates for the profits that they brought, and even of helping to fit out pirate ships.

23. PIRATES WERE FIRST ENDURED THEN SUPPRESSED

The most noted case of this sort was that of Captain Kidd. He was a Scottish sea captain in New York for whom a powerful ship was fitted out by the royal governor of the colony and several partners. Their plan was that Kidd was to capture pirates and make his partners all rich with the spoils (1696).

Kidd, finding few pirates waiting to be captured, turned pirate on his own account. After a successful cruise he came boldly back to America, but was arrested, sent a prisoner to England, and there executed. Some of the plunder with which he had thought to satisfy his New York backers was recovered. Some disappeared; and men have ever since been blindly searching for it.

After Kidd's day there came a general reaction against all dealings with the pirates, and they were by degrees driven from our coast. Robert Johnson, the vigorous governor of South Carolina, commanded in person an attack which destroyed one brutal crew. Indeed, Charleston had sometimes a dozen pirates at once hanged upon its gallows.

24. BLACKBEARD WAS THE LAST PIRATE SCOURGE OF THE SOUTH

Teach, or Blackbeard, the most notorious of the southern pirates, once openly besieged Charleston with three ships,

taking whatever he pleased from every passing vessel. Blackbeard was what Kidd had never been, the typical pirate, reveling in ferocious deeds of blood.

He draped his long black beard with blood red ribbons and set "slow matches" burning from it as he fought. He cheated his followers of their spoils, secured a pardon for himself, and dwelt for a time in North Carolina as a close friend of the governor. Then he relapsed and began anew as a pirate chief.

Virginia sent two British ships of war against him under Lieutenant Maynard. In fiercest fight, Blackbeard destroyed one of these ships and then boarded the other, hacking about him furiously until he fell dead with over twenty great wounds. Maynard sailed back to Virginia with the pirate's head set at his ship's bow.

25. THE SOUTH SUFFERED FROM INDIAN WARS

The Indians also gave trouble in repeated wars, even without the aid of France. The most terrible of these wars were in the Carolinas. There a widespread Indian trade had developed, the traders travelling freely among the tribes as far westward as the Mississippi. France, as we have seen, began occupying the Mississippi valley. The Indians, encouraged by finding this rival French market for their furs, became more savage and defiant in their dealings with the Carolinians. The result was war.

This began in 1711 with the Tuscaroras of North Carolina, a branch of the great Iroquois nation and the most dreaded tribe of the South. They attacked New Bern, a newly planted settlement of Germans, and completely destroyed it. Indeed, all the scattered North Carolina settlements suffered terribly.

The colony was saved by the heroism of its own fighting

Blackbeard the Pirate Fights His Death-fight on Lieutenant Maynard's Ship ©J. L. G. Ferris

men, aided by troops from both Virginia and South Carolina. The Tuscaroras at last despaired of the struggle and fled north to New York to join the other Iroquois tribes there (1713).

26. THE CAROLINAS REVOLTED AGAINST THEIR PROPRIETORS

South Carolina had next to face a dangerous confederacy of the southern Indian tribes, headed by the Yemassee Indians. The redmen attempted a sudden general massacre (1715). Several hundred of the colonists were slain, and the survivors fled to Charleston. There the governor armed every man, and led the confused mass out in a desperate attack. The Indians were repulsed; but North Carolina had in her turn to lend aid to her neighbor before the Yemassees were finally crushed.

During these dark days the "Eight Lords" who had long been the owners of the Carolinas had done nothing to defend the settlers. Discontent increased, until the folk of South Carolina called upon their able and vigorous governor Robert Johnson to aid them in overthrowing the feeble rule of the "Eight Lords." Johnson refused to turn against his employers, so the colonists drove him from office.

The British government induced the proprietors to surrender their rights; and both the Carolinas were turned into royal colonies (1729). Under the new rule Johnson was again made governor of South Carolina. He was warmly welcomed by his people, who had honored even while they expelled him.

27. NEGRO UPRISINGS BECAME A SOURCE OF TERROR

The American colonies now began to face another danger. They reaped what they had sown when they had accepted

negro slavery. Rumors of negro plots against their masters, and even of plans for widespread "slave uprisings," frequently spread terror through the colonies. New York city faced such a plot, crude and poorly managed, in 1711.

Thirty years later the mere suspicion of such a plot sent a frenzy of fear through the same city, not unlike Salem's witchcraft frenzy. Negroes were officially tortured to make them confess; and several were condemned by the courts and executed on the wildest sort of confessions thus extorted (1741).

The ignorant and helpless slaves soon began to accuse prominent white folk of taking part in their supposed revolt. A noble hearted clergyman, John Ury, who had worked as a missionary among the negroes, was hanged. At last the obvious impossibility of the whole idea brought the disgraceful madness to an end.

In South Carolina, where the blacks outnumbered the whites, a real slave insurrection broke out in 1740. It was quickly suppressed; but the danger of such an uprising and its mad revenges remained as a constant dread through the far South.

28. POPULATION AND WEALTH INCREASED; IMMIGRANTS FLOWED IN FROM MANY NATIONS

None of these disasters could check the fast rising prosperity of our free and fertile continent. The wealth and population of all the British colonies was increasing rapidly. In the forty years following 1700 our population twice doubled itself, rising from a quarter million to a half, and then to a full million. By 1760 we had nearly two million people, and perhaps three million when the Revolution began.

This rapid growth was caused chiefly by a natural in-

crease. Large families were the rule, and the healthy outdoor life saved the people from such plagues as still frequently brought death to great masses in Europe. Immigration also continued, not so much now from England, but from Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland and Germany. The French king, Louis XIV, so ravaged Germany that many of the most industrious and earnest people in its Protestant states faced starvation. Many were saved by England's aiding them to reach her own shores or her colonies.

A wave of Scotch-Irish immigration began about 1720, and in the course of half a century numbered almost half a million, forming perhaps an eighth of our population. This large movement was caused by religious persecution or in northern Ireland by property losses. In Ireland the British Navigation Acts proved even more harmful than in America. The immigrants were mainly the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish or Catholics of old English stock, so their coming did not alter the still essentially English character of the America of 1776.

29. IN EACH COLONY DIVISIONS APPEARED, PARTIES BEGAN

These newcomers of other races found little welcome in New England; and some of them were unwisely, perhaps unjustly, treated in New York. On the other hand, Penn and his descendants gladly offered them land; and so did the colonies further south. Hence, Germans, Scotch and Irish filled the middle counties of Pennsylvania and overflowed into Maryland, Virginia and even the Carolinas.

Gradually a marked religious division grew up, especially in Virginia, between the older seaboard counties and these new counties of the hills. The secure and sheltered folk along the coast upheld the Church of England. In the poor log huts that edged the wilderness, and among the scattered

farms of the hill-valleys, there existed almost every form of "dissenting" faith.

Each colony began to develop within itself what might be called political party lines. These in a general way represented the struggle of the newer, poorer colonists for more power, as against the older settlers with their established ways and laws. The earlier colonists had become in some sense an aristocracy.

30. A LIBEL SUIT ESTABLISHED OUR "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

In New York a strong aristocratic party rallied round the royal governor, until one governor was so tyrannical that he drove almost everyone into the opposition party. Then occurred the famous Zenger trial, which established for America the freedom of the press.

Peter Zenger was a printer whose newspaper was used by the governor's enemies to attack him. The governor brought a libel suit, not so much against poor Zenger as against the powerful New Yorkers behind him. Zenger offered to prove all his paper had said against the governor; but the judge at his trial declared that such public attacks were injurious whether true or not, and should be punished anyway. This clearly defined the issue as a question of free speech.

The New York public became deeply determined in its support of Zenger. He was made a public hero, and crowds visited him in his cell. His supporters insisted on the right of a newspaper to print whatever statements were true, no matter who was offended. Every influence of threat or compulsion that the governor and his followers could invent was used to force Zenger's conviction.

Two New York lawyers who attempted his defense were expelled from the courts. So Andrew Hamilton a noted

Philadelphia lawyer was summoned to New York. He defended Zenger in such an able speech that a new phrase became part of our language for any difficult logical feat. We say, "it would take a Philadelphia lawyer."

Encouraged by Hamilton, the New York jury sturdily defied the governor, and acquitted Zenger (1735). When all a governor's power had thus failed to suppress the freedom of the newspapers, no further attacks on them were made in any of the colonies.

31. GEORGIA, THE LAST ORIGINAL COLONY, WAS FOUNDED

One new colony was established in these prosperous days. This, the last of our original thirteen states, was Georgia (1733). Spain, having been further weakened by European wars, had ceased to threaten South Carolina. Thus the British government felt safe in extending its own claims farther south, and seizing the unsettled strip which had lain for a century between the Carolinas and Florida.

General James Ogelthorpe, a noted British soldier and philanthropist, hoped to give a new chance to men who had failed under England's heavy laws. He secured a royal grant of land, and permission to take from England's jails a number of men held in prison for debt or similar causes. With these he planted a colony at Savannah.

Ogelthorpe set up laws far in advance of his day. He forbade slavery and all selling of rum. His people, however, insisted that in this hot climate they must have slaves, as white men could not do heavy work. They also insisted on rum; and finally got their way in both matters.

Never was a colony established with more generous help from England; and Ogelthorpe spent his own money freely. He was an energetic and determined leader. When his "poor debtors" proved scarce strong enough to master the

wilderness, he brought over a whole military regiment of sturdy Scotch highlanders. He also welcomed the homeless German Protestants. The Germans and Scots added a stalwart power to his colony.

General Ogelthorpe, a Contemporary Drawing

32. GEORGIA AND CAROLINA FOUGHT WITH SPAIN; OUR ENTIRE COASTLINE WAS NOW OWNED AND COLONIZED

The Georgia settlement was frankly looked upon as a defiance of Spain, and was planted as a sort of military post. It was three times involved in battle against Florida.

In 1740 Spain and Britain were at open war. Governor Ogelthorpe was made commander of the forces of South Carolina as well as of his own colony; and he led a strong expedition against St. Augustine. Difficulties and the usual quarrels prevented these forces from doing more than briefly besiege the Spanish city.

In 1742 the Spaniards retaliated with a similar attack on Savannah, which also failed. In 1743 Ogelthorpe tried again in his turn and without success. Then a European peace saved both sides from further exhausting themselves. The peace treaty drew the boundary which now exists between Georgia and Florida.

Ownership was thus at length established and accepted along all the Atlantic coast. There was no longer any doubtful space left open for a new nation to seize, or for a new colony to occupy. All the remaining wilderness lay inland. The period of seacoast settlement was ended; the period of westward expansion began.

La Salle at the Mouth of the Mississippi

CHAPTER TWELVE

HOW FRANCE WAS DRIVEN OUT OF CANADA

The story of how we learned the worth of Union in war

(1744–1763)

I. A WORLD WAR ROSE FROM FRENCH AND BRITISH RIVALRY

All the older, lesser wars of our colonies with Indians, Frenchmen or Spaniards, fade in importance beside the final struggle with the French. France and Britain had now become the two great rival owners of northern America. A new war between them flared up in Europe in 1744, and spread to Asia and America. The war was patched up by a brief peace four years later, broke out again in 1755, and ended in 1763 with a complete British victory.

This was a war between two world-wide empires. England had won commercial mastery from Spain and then from Holland. Now she strove with France for world mastery in both trade and power. This poisonous ambition for lordship has so often seized on nations, that we have learned to distrust the old-style leadership by a man, and to substitute leadership by Law. In most lands kings have been rejected, and the people have turned instead, as we did, to government by elected representatives, who can be changed if they grow drunk with power.

During the first years of the vast French-British contest, America was not the chief subject of dispute. Our continent was, however, looked on as one of the prizes of victory. Britain now began the long struggle to control the Mississippi valley which she did not finally abandon until Jackson's victory at New Orleans in 1815.

2. THE STRUGGLE WAS BETWEEN OPPOSING IDEAS OF LIFE

In America the war with France was a clash between opposing principles. The French government of Canada was, as we have seen, the extreme of absolutism. Every man there was under the command of the French king; and the chief virtue demanded of men was obedience. This, as the events of the warfare proved, makes a very strong form of government when under an able leader. The entire strength of Canada was quickly gathered and effectively used.

The British colonies, on the other hand, were built up on the old English idea that each man is free; he has a right to freedom, and he acts for himself. This spirit bred a far stronger people; it developed the vigorous American character. But this same freedom often stopped our colonists from quick action in a sudden crisis. It prevented that prompt unity of aim which proved so valuable to Canada.

Only our overwhelming numbers enabled us at length to win a dear bought victory. We had twelve times as many people as Canada. We needed that many, to offset our lack of organization and united effort.

3. RELIGIOUS FORCES WERE ALSO IN SHARP OPPOSITION

The contest was also a struggle of religions. France and Canada were Catholic; and many of the Canadians were earnestly confident that Heaven would fight for them. England and her colonies were Protestant; and New England in particular had more than once declared herself protected from the French by a Divine Providence.

Canada, as we have seen, had long been defended by Frenchmen, in what they regarded as a holy war, a crusade

against the "devils" of the Iroquois. The English colonists were equally set in their belief that the "Catholic king" of France was a terrific monster who meant to bring them all to torture, and destroy their religion.

Something of the early crusading fervor had died out of Canada. Something of the intense devotion of the early Puritans had failed in New England. A new thoughtfulness in religion was, however, roused in our colonies by the most noted philosophic thinker of our early history, Reverend Jonathan Edwards of Connecticut. His writings and his preachings from a Massachusetts pulpit stirred men deeply. Even Europe hailed him as one of the chief thinkers of his day. His own parish dismissed him for differing from its views, but just before his death Princeton College raised him to be its president.

4. THE "GREAT AWAKENING" BEGAN UNDER WHITEFIELD

A far more widespread religious movement began in the colonies in 1740. It was called the "Great Awakening." Its leader was George Whitefield, the celebrated preacher of Methodism. Whitefield made a preaching tour through the country, rousing the masses of the people everywhere to intense religious enthusiasm.

In this "awakening" each man weighed the needs of his own spirit. So here again the individual judgment and responsibility of Protestantism was brought into contrast with the centralized command of Catholicism. The high but dangerous effort at self-guidance was opposed to the serene obedience which accepts a trusted voice.

Thus the French-British world war became in our land a conflict not only of opposing nations and religions, but of differing organizations of society, different attitudes towards life itself. Which were to control America?

5. THE FRENCH DIRECTED THE INDIAN RAVAGES OF 1744

The war of 1744 began with the usual ravages of the frontier by the Canadian Indians. Our colonial legislatures were as usual too busy arguing with one another or with their governors to weigh the more immediate needs of self-defense. Massachusetts and New Hampshire disputed as to which should guard the upper Connecticut river valley. So they left it undefended. It was ravaged from end to end.

In New York, only thirty miles beyond Albany, the town of Saratoga was burned, and over a hundred prisoners were carried off. The defenses of Saratoga were rebuilt at public expense, but so poorly that the place was abandoned at the mere rumor of another attack. The Iroquois taunted their British allies scornfully with having built this fort and then deserted it. Indeed, the Iroquois were so disgusted they were almost ready to join the French.

6. WILLIAM JOHNSON PREVENTED AN INDIAN DISASTER

The support of the Iroquois was saved for Britain by one remarkable man, William Johnson. He was an Irish settler who had made friends with the Iroquois, and been adopted into their nation. He joined in their wild war dances and their stately councils. He married an Iroquois princess, "Molly Brant," who later became known to all America as "the brown Lady Johnson." In short, he was the one leader among our colonists who ever swayed the Indians as Frontenac had once done for France.

Johnson was the chief hero of the north throughout this desolating war. He began by soothing the disgusted Iroquois and rallying them to our aid. He thus spread a sure barrier to protect New York from the Canadian Indians.

Franklin's Philadelphia Book-Shop © J. L. G. Ferris

From about 1729 to 1750 Franklin managed his printing business and a book-shop with it. His partner's wife, Mrs. Meredith, helped tend shop, and they sold soap and other articles as well as books

The New England frontier was, however, ravaged more terribly than ever before. Thirty-five Indian scalping expeditions were officially recorded as being sent out from Montreal in less than three months. France gathered all her Indians from the far west and set them at this hideous work.

7. FRANCE ERECTED THE GREAT FORTRESS OF LOUISBURG

The French had surrendered Nova Scotia to Britain in 1713, but they had retained Cape Breton Island, which lies just north of Nova Scotia. Here they built the mightiest fortress America had yet known. The huge structure was enlarged year after year until it had cost over a million dollars, an enormous sum for those days.

The French named this huge fortress Louisburg, in honor of their kings Louis XIV and Louis XV. They boasted that it was absolutely beyond capture. It was the Gibraltar of America.

In this war of 1744, French ships from Louisburg began at once to attack the New England coast. The French ravages extended even as far as Virginia. New England grimly resolved to attempt the impossible, to stop the Louisburg plunderers by capturing their fortress. The thing seemed so beyond human power that Britain at first refused all aid.

8. NEW ENGLAND AMAZED THE WORLD BY CAPTURING LOUISBURG

Massachusetts and her neighbors then raised a fleet of their own. They landed four thousand men at Louisburg, and began the attack. It was unexpected. A fortunate explosion enabled the attackers to seize a main outer work. A British fleet came to help them. The French provisions

failed; and three months after the siege began, Louisburg surrendered.

All Europe rang with this unexpected victory. The New England commander was knighted in England as Sir William Pepperell, being the first American thus honored for military exploits. Britain woke to realize the strength of New England for war, and began planning a joint attack upon Quebec. But the war came to an end in Europe before anything more was accomplished here.

9. AMERICA'S INTERESTS WERE SACRIFICED BY BRITAIN

When this brief peace was patched up (1748), France and Britain traded with one another for fragments of the widespread empire of each. Britain gave back Louisburg in exchange for advantages in other lands. This careless neglect of America's interests, this indifference to her great triumph, was a cruel blow to all our people, especially the New Englanders. It taught them how little they could trust to Britain's protection.

At this moment, too, a British fleet visited Boston, and its commander began seizing Americans from the streets to man his ships. This was a British naval practice of the time, often employed in English ports, its wickedness being excused because of its necessity. The Boston seizure was, however, particularly brutal; and the people broke into such fierce rioting that the stolen citizens were given back. Yet their seizure had shown again how little the Britons regarded American rights. These injustices did more than half a century of governmental disputes had done to destroy the loyalty which Americans had felt since the Revolution of 1689.

The colonies had now a common grievance to draw them all together. They knew that war with Canada was sure to

break forth again, and that they would be forced, for their own sakes, to capture Louisburg once more. Could they twice accomplish the impossible? At least, there would be a sad cost to pay, not only in money, but in lives. In such an attack Britain would lend them little aid; but she would probably again snatch all the profit.

10. FRANCE CLAIMED THE MISSISSIPPI AND OHIO VALLEYS

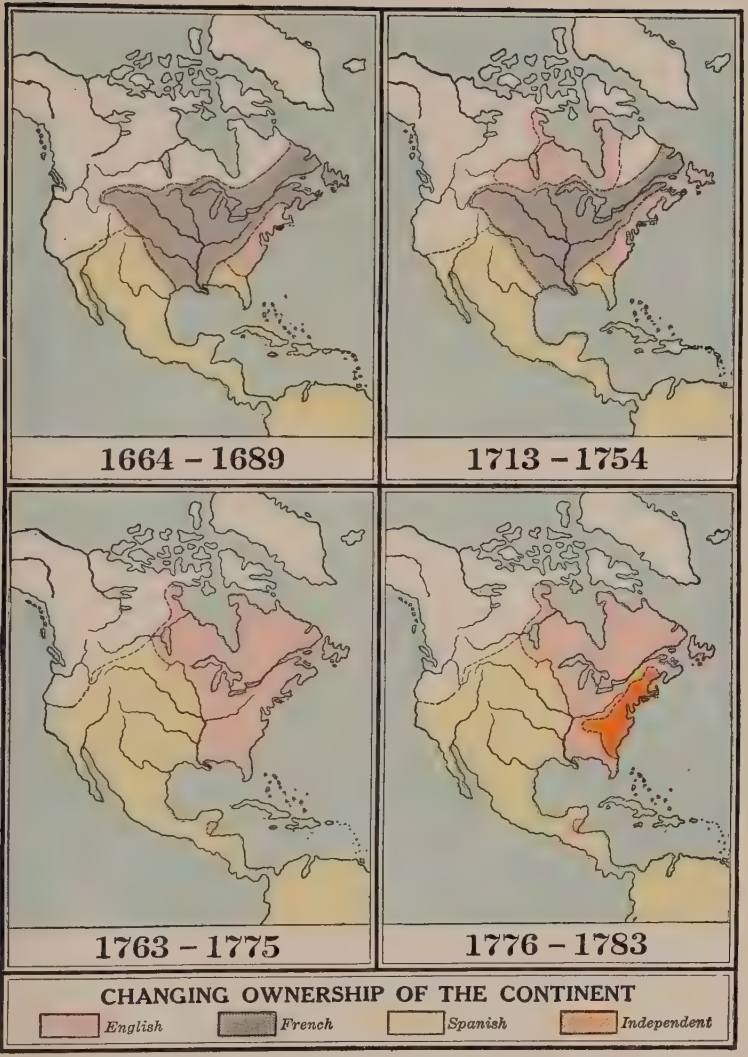
Despite America's increasing distrust of the British government, the final war with France began here rather than in Europe. It was indeed, as we have already pointed out, inevitable—so long as Britain and France both dreamed of Empire. Both were eagerly seeking the Indians' trade and the Indians' lands.

How France had occupied the Mississippi valley, we have already seen. La Salle explored it, and Iberville settled it. By 1720, France was in full possession there; her line of forts reached from Canada to Louisiana. The strengthening of this line led her next to building forts in the Ohio river valley. This brought her close to the western base of our long range of Atlantic mountains.

Our British colonists were already crossing these mountains, and entering the Ohio region in their general advance from the east. One nation or the other must give way.

11. VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA SPREAD TO THE OHIO VALLEY

A generation before, in 1716, Governor Spotswood of Virginia had led a party of fifty gentlemen to the summit of a Virginia mountain pass. Here seated at ease upon their horses, they could look beyond the first mountain range, and see the rich valley of the Shenandoah. Spotswood and his comrades drank wine together, a toast to this fair inner land, and vowed to make it English. The governor


1664 – 1689
1713 – 1754
1763 – 1775
1776 – 1783
CHANGING OWNERSHIP OF THE CONTINENT
English
French
Spanish
Independent

then sent exploring expeditions and encouraged settlement there.

How the Scotch-Irish settlers filled these mountain valleys with their farms we have already seen. They made an ideal frontier race, bold, alert, adventurous. They learned to handle axe and gun better than any other race before or since. By 1740 their log cabins extended beyond the mountains into what is now West Virginia. Their roving pioneers began to meet French fur traders from the west.

Our northern boundary with Canada had been in dispute ever since the first settlements. Now our western boundary with Louisiana was also disputed. Britain insisted that her rights extended to the Mississippi, if not to the Pacific ocean. France insisted that hers included all the Mississippi valley with all its tributary rivers, and that therefore all the lands west of the coast mountains were hers, including this whole Ohio valley and even western Pennsylvania.

12. FRENCH AND BRITISH CLASHED IN A TRADING WAR

So long as these claims were mere talk, they caused little trouble, but in 1748 the "Ohio Company" was formed in Virginia to settle the Ohio river lands. This company sent a surveyor, George Washington, then a lad of only sixteen, to explore these lands and map them out. France promptly sent a military party to renew her formal claim to the entire region.

The Ohio Indians had long been dealing with our traders; and they clung to their British alliance despite the showy French expedition. So the Canadian governor took another step. He sent a French and Indian war party which raided the valley and destroyed its chief Indian town, Pickawillany. The Indians among the raiders ate their chief victims in a cannibal feast.

Young Washington was sent again into the region, this time to protest against its French occupation. He found that strong French forces had arrived there; and their commander declared France meant to "keep her own." Moreover, such of the Indians as had not been eaten had now attached themselves admiringly to the vigorous Frenchmen.

Thus it was no longer New York or New England or even the Carolinas that found the warlike French upon their frontiers. Virginia, oldest and most sheltered of all our colonies, was threatened. Our slim strip of Atlantic coast-land was completely encircled by these wide-ranging woodsmen of France.

13. THE FRENCH DROVE WASHINGTON FROM THE OHIO

Virginia resolved on vigorous action. Washington was sent with a strong force to build a fort in the disputed region, at the place where Pittsburgh now stands. This covered the easiest path across the mountain range, and was called the "Gateway of the West." Washington found a French fort already hastily erected there, Fort Duquesne (Doo kane).

There was some sharp fighting; and Washington, having much the smaller numbers, was compelled to retreat. He built a hurried rampart of defense, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he withstood a siege until he agreed to withdraw his soldiers from the disputed region (1754).

As yet there was no war declared on either side. France sent three thousand extra soldiers to Canada. Britain, waking to her danger, sent a thousand soldiers and one of her commanders, General Braddock, to protect this Ohio territory which she claimed as hers.

© J. L. G. Ferris

Washington, at the age of fourteen, secured an appointment in the British navy. His mother urged that his duty was to stay to care for their estate and for her. At the last moment, the lad abandoned his desire for a life at sea. His mother presented to him as a reward for standing by his duty, a pearl-handled knife. He carried this all his life, and more than once it served as a symbol to hold him firm in the Nation's service. The knife is still preserved in Washington's Masonic Lodge

14. A GENERAL CONGRESS OF THE COLONIES MET AT ALBANY

A general congress of representatives from the various colonies was now called in Albany (1754). Its members recognized what, in an older generation, King William had vainly urged upon the colonies, the weakness of their scattered governments for war. They sought to plan some kind of union, or at least an alliance for common action.

Fort Pitt, formerly Fort Duquesne, a Contemporary Sketch

As yet, however, the people of different colonies scarcely knew anything of one another. Each colony lived by itself, its life spreading out from its own seaports, and its settlers rarely coming at all in touch with those of other colonies. Hence the men of the Albany congress met like representatives of foreign nations. They were watchful and distrustful of one another.

Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania's great philosopher, was among the delegates. He was already well known as a statesman and publisher. His "Poor Richard's Almanac," a book of shrewd, homely, common sense, was popular in all the colonies. In his newspaper there had appeared a picture of warning to the colonists, our earliest famous cartoon. It showed a snake divided into pieces to represent the various colonies, and underneath were the words "Join or die." So Franklin was appointed by the Albany congress to draft a plan of union.

Franklin's Cartoon for Union

15. FRANKLIN'S PLAN OF UNION WAS REJECTED

The plan which Franklin prepared contented no one. It was so just that each colony thought it unjust; because each regarded it from a personal viewpoint, and demanded more for itself. The difficulty was that no one was as yet ready to accept that great central necessity of all union, compromise.

The colonies thought that the union gave too much power to Britain, while the Britons thought that any union should

be issued from Parliament, not started by the colonies. Clearly there was already here a serious difference of viewpoint between England and America.

Franklin's rejected plan offers us an interesting measure of the relative importance of each colony in his day, by the number of votes he assigned to each. Massachusetts was to have seven delegates, Connecticut five, Rhode Island and New Hampshire each two, making sixteen for New England. Pennsylvania (including Delaware) was to have six, New York four and New Jersey three, making thirteen for the middle section. Virginia was to have seven, Maryland and each of the Carolinas four, making nineteen for the south. Georgia was still so small as to be ignored.

16. DIVIDED AUTHORITY HAMPERED THE AMERICAN EFFORTS

The unfitness of the entire organization of Britain's colonies for making war was never more tragically shown. The French under their single ruler, the Marquis de Montcalm, acted promptly and vigorously. The American forces were under so many different governing powers that no two authorities were ready at the same time, and action of any sort became almost impossible.

Both Virginia and Pennsylvania claimed the Pittsburg region, and neither cared to spend its money defending lands which might afterward be given to the other. Then the Virginia Assembly disputed with the governor about raising money for warfare. The Assembly desired the defense of the Ohio, but delayed so long before approving each step, that the French were constantly beforehand.

Disaster was made more certain by the character of the British general Braddock. He was obstinate and arrogant, with a noisy contempt for everything colonial. He enlisted Virginian recruits for his British regiments, and then

delayed his march so as to drill them in the British manner. This drill was wholly useless for Indian fighting; but Braddock scorned to take advice from Washington or any of the other Americans who knew Indian ways.

17. THE BRITISH UNDER BRADDOCK MET TRAGIC DEFEAT

The result of all this delay and ignorance was that when Braddock finally marched his regiments against Fort Duquesne, the French and Indians were thoroughly ready for him. He had two thousand men in his regiments, and four

Franklin's Experiment with Lightning

hundred colonial volunteers besides, the largest force which had yet marched inland in America. Braddock paraded them through the wilderness with flags and drums to announce their coming.

The French and their Indian allies attacked him from the safe shelter of the forests. The stubborn general would not even let his men defend themselves in similar Indian fashion from behind the trees. He compelled them to stand in ranks, where they were easily shot down. The fight was a massacre rather than a battle. Braddock and most of his men were slain (July 8, 1755).

Washington saved a remnant by setting his Virginians

to shoot from shelter, like the French and redmen. One Indian chief told afterward how he had himself fired twelve times at Washington, the leader who, big and bold and visible above all others, dashed on horseback from point to point to rally the stricken "redcoats." Finally, the Indian concluded that this big soldier must be under the special shelter of a god, so he turned to shoot at less important men.

Washington thus prevented a complete disaster. He assumed command, and withdrew what was left of the shattered British army. Thereafter he shared with William Johnson the repute of being the ablest soldier in America.

18. BRITISH BLUNDERS DROVE AMERICA TO DISGUST AND DESPAIR

The French now held complete possession of the Ohio valley. Britain did not formally declare war until 1756; and she did so then for European reasons rather than because of the American quarrel. Nevertheless, Braddock's defeat led the British rulers to a firm resolve to wipe out this disgrace by driving the French wholly out of America.

For five years the British government continued sending forces over here for that purpose. At first only officers and arms were sent, the colonies being expected to supply the troops. The Americans were roused to a renewed hope that Britain might this time stand by them in retaining any victories they won. Hence they were at first eager in giving men and money.

Unfortunately, the British officers were mostly of the Braddock type. They were wholly ignorant of fighting under American conditions, and blindly confident of their military superiority. One failure followed another, and the

Montcalm at Fort William Henry

(From the Painting by W. J. Ferris. Copyright, 1902, by Glenns Falls Ins. Co.)

In 1757 Montcalm compelled the surrender of this fort on Lake George in New York. His Indian allies attempted to massacre the captives and Montcalm interfered in person and saved most of them.

colonies lost all faith in British leadership. They also lost their dread of British armies.

19. JOHNSON CHECKED THE FRENCH ADVANCE FROM CANADA

The only military victory which brightened those days of persistent failure, was won by William Johnson, the friend of the Iroquois. In 1755 the French attempted anew their favorite plan of invading New York by way of Lake Champlain and Albany. They hoped, by capturing New York, to split the colonies in two.

The French and their Indian allies got as far as Lake George. There they were met by Johnson with two thousand New England and New York volunteers and a few hundred Iroquois braves. This was one of the fiercest among our colonial battles. A thousand of our men were first entrapped and almost all slain in what was named "the bloody morning scout."

The French thought victory was won, and attacked Johnson's entrenchments with fury. The fighting was deadly. Hundreds fell on either side; but the French were driven back, and their general was mortally wounded.

Johnson was also sorely wounded, and was unable to follow up his success with his weakened army. Hence the affair was really a drawn battle. But as this was the one partial success amid many failures, Johnson was much honored both here and in Britain. The king knighted him as Sir William, thus making his Indian wife "Lady Molly."

20. THE ACADIANS WERE EXPELLED FROM THEIR HOMES

A tragic incident of this war was the expulsion of the Acadians, made famous by Longfellow in his Evangeline. Acadia was that part of Nova Scotia, which the French had

settled. It had been held by Britain since the peace of 1713, but its people were still French. Many of them had aided France openly or secretly in these later wars, so the land had almost to be captured again. This was easily done by a New England force (1755).

To prevent any further rebellion the people of Acadia were removed to other regions where their loyalty to France would be less dangerous. England gave the harsh order for this; and New England carried it out. This was our one tragic example in America of a form of tyranny which in older days of conquest had been sadly frequent.

The Expulsion of the Acadians

Several thousand Acadian farmers were seized without warning, carried off in war ships, and landed at different ports, scattered from New England to Georgia. In the hurried removal families were divided and many, as in Evangeline's case, must have failed of reunion. Many of the Acadians finally found a home among their French countrymen in Louisiana.

21 BRITAIN UNDER WILLIAM PITT FOUGHT WITH NEW POWER

At last in 1757 Britain herself had suffered so much disaster everywhere that she made a complete change of her

own leadership. She placed in power one of her greatest statesmen, the elder William Pitt.

Pitt reversed the war situation all over the world. To America he sent fresh forces and competent generals. Washington was given an important position, and had the triumph of receiving the final surrender of Fort Duquesne. The name of this famous fort was changed to Pittsburg (1758).

The next year Sir William Johnson captured Fort Niagara, the chief French fort on the Niagara frontier. In truth, the few remaining French in Canada were almost too exhausted for further struggle, and France had lost control of the sea and could send them no more troops. They repelled one army which attempted to attack Canada from New York in 1758; but the great fortress of Louisburg was left only half guarded and was captured that year by the new British generals, Amherst and Wolfe.

22. WOLFE PERISHED IN VICTORY AT QUEBEC

In 1759 General Wolfe brought a strong fleet and army against Quebec. The famous commander of Canada, Marquis Montcalm, resisted him long and ably. Quebec stands on an abrupt hill almost wholly secure against assault. Wolfe's troops mounted by stealth at night up a tiny path that climbed the cliffs to the "Plains of Abraham," behind Quebec. He thus threatened the city on its most defenseless side.

As the soldiers climbed through the darkness, Wolfe is said to have quoted a stanza from the famous poet Gray, closing with the line, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave." The general then declared he would rather have written that poem than be the conqueror of Quebec.

Montcalm finding the British had reached this command-

ing position on the Plains of Abraham marched out from Quebec to meet his foe. This was the most important battle that had thus far been fought upon American soil. Both commanders were mortally wounded in the fight. Legend tells that, as Wolfe lay dying on the field, one of his officers who watched the battle cried out, "They flee!" "Who flee?" demanded Wolfe. "The French," was the reply. "Then," said Wolfe, "I die content." Meanwhile, Montcalm struggling to rally his defeated soldiers within the city, fell bleeding from his wounds. He was told that he was dying, and replied, "It is better so. I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

Both leaders had indeed found their glory in the grave. Wolfe had, however, accomplished a giant task. He had completely broken the French power in America. Quebec surrendered; and the next summer when the British marched onward to Montreal, that city promptly surrendered also (1760). Canada was conquered.

23. AMERICA HAD NEXT TO MEET HER WORST INDIAN WARS

The Indians who had been allied with the French were by no means ready to surrender to Britain, even though they must now fight without their former friends and leaders. In 1760 the strongest tribe of southern Indians, the Cherokees, made war on Carolina. British troops were sent against the redmen and burned their crops.

The Cherokees then captured Fort Loudon, a stronghold which had been set up in the North Carolina mountains. They slew its defenders and ravaged all the surrounding frontier. This was a terrible time of suffering in the South; but the Cherokees were crushed by a large force of colonists the next year.

Meanwhile along the Ohio, Pontiac, the ablest of all our

Indian foes, had organized a widespread conspiracy. Pretending submission until a set date in 1763, the Indians then suddenly attacked every frontier post in the northwest. They captured all but three, and massacred the garrisons. Only Detroit, Niagara and Pittsburgh held out against Pontiac. Detroit, the chief fortress of the west, was saved from an Indian trap by the shrewd watchfulness of its British commander. It then withstood a siege of several months.

This was the largest union ever formed by Indians against the whites. For two years Pontiac resisted the forces sent against him; but the Indians were incapable of a prolonged union. They were defeated at Bushy Run in western Pennsylvania, and gradually Pontiac's allies fell away. He fled into the west and was slain by one of his own people (1765).

24. THE WEAKNESS OF A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT WAS DISPLAYED

The weakness which always threatens a government by the people was again made painfully clear during Pontiac's terrible war. While the Indians raided the frontier, the legislatures of both Pennsylvania and Virginia would only talk.

In Pennsylvania, the Quakers disapproved of fighting, and the eastern counties had no love for the Scotch-Irish of the western border. So these unfortunate folk were left to defend themselves as best they could. Only for the fact that some British regiments still remained in America from Wolfe's army, it seems as if all Pennsylvania must have perished.

In Virginia, Washington strove gallantly to defend the frontier; but the legislature was so distrustful of the governor and so slow in voting money to aid him that for nearly

Pontiac's Failure to Surprise Detroit

From the painting by Gari Melchers in the Detroit Public Library.
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a year there might as well have been no government at all. Washington reports that he would have been utterly helpless, except for the fact that here too some British soldiers were still in the province. A troop of British cavalry came to his aid.

25. THE FINAL PEACE DROVE FRANCE OUT OF NORTH AMERICA; SPAIN RECEIVED LOUISIANA AND TREATED IT CRUELLY

Meanwhile the worldwide war of France and Britain had ended in a general peace in 1763. By this treaty France yielded to Britain both the mastery of the seas and possession of the vast realm of India, which then seemed far richer than America. The verdict of Wolfe's victory was also confirmed. Canada was not again restored to the colonists' ancient foe; it became a new British province. Today it is a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire; but in the region around Quebec its people are still French in language and descent.

France also yielded her claim to all lands east of the Mississippi, including the disputed Ohio valley. Spain had taken part in the war on the side of France. Now Spain had to surrender to Britain the whole of Florida, her ancient frontier of defense against our colonies. This included not only the present State of Florida but all the Gulf coast westward to Louisiana.

France, to repay her ally for this loss, gave Spain New Orleans and all the French lands west of the Mississippi. Britain had expected to obtain this along with Canada and the Ohio region. Its transfer to Spain was secret, a diplomatic trick to outwit Britain.

The French of Louisiana were but little pleased at being thus handed over to Spain. They had long been compelled to defend themselves against the Spanish power in Mexico,

and dreaded their coming fate. England's comparative liberality with her colonies was well known. New Orleans did, in fact, make an effort to assert her established usage of self-rule as against her new Spanish governor. Five leading citizens were promptly executed for thus daring to voice any protest whatever. Spain ruled all her American domains with a genuine medieval tyranny such as no Englishman had dreamed of on our coast.

26 OUR COLONIES' BOND TO BRITAIN WAS LOOSENED

France, having yielded her eastern claims to Britain and her western claims to Spain withdrew entirely from North America, for a time. Of all the nations which had once built colonies here, only Britain and Spain remained. Britain held the north and east; Spain the south and west.

In surrendering America at the peace treaty the French minister made a noted remark. He said, "England will soon repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe." He explained that, when France no longer threatened the colonies from Canada, they would not need Britain's protection. Britain, he said, would surely seek to force from the colonies some money return for the heavy expenses of her worldwide war; and he prophesied, "They will answer by striking off all dependence."

Coming events were thus already expected by a shrewd observer. They were almost inevitable. Americans still clung to England with affection as well as pride; but their old loyalty had been much weakened. In a common-sense way, they knew the value of British protection. The British navy guarded them against Spain and many other far worse masters than Parliament had ever been. Yet the Americans had now learned their own strength. For a hundred years they had directed their own lives, managed their own affairs, and they meant to continue doing so.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE BIRTH OF A NATION

The story of how we were Driven into an Unwilling Revolt

(1760–1775)

I. A NEW KING TRIED TO RESTORE THE OLD MASTERY

In the year 1760 a young new king, George III, came to the British throne. George was of German ancestry; for Britain's Dutch ruler, William III, had left no descendants, and Parliament had finally invited to the throne the present line of British sovereigns, from Hanover, a German state. Two earlier Georges, Hanoverian ancestors of George III, had sat peaceably on the British throne, content to leave government mainly to Parliament. Young George III, however, had been trained by a German mother and a Scottish royalist tutor to believe in the old rights of kings.

George III was determined to put back the clock of time, and rule as William III had done. He was an honest man but obstinate; and, because he was stupid, he was brutal. The result was that he was in ever-increasing quarrel with the folk who stood up for their new found rights, whether in Britain or America. The great statesman, William Pitt, repeatedly upheld in Parliament the resistance made by the Americans. So did the celebrated Irish orator Edmund Burke and many another freedom-loving Briton.

The British fought King George with their votes and voices in Parliament. The Americans, having no votes and no voice in Parliament, were driven to resist by force. A government which can be changed by its people's vote, can

be changed slowly and with thoughtful care. Where change can only be attained by force, it must be won suddenly and with misery for all concerned—even the victors.

2. AMERICA'S RESISTANCE AIDED SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN

Britain at this time had just won her world empire. Her people were so occupied with many affairs all over the world

Casting the Liberty Bell © J. L. G. Ferris

The bell was cast in 1753 for the State House in Philadelphia, afterward Independence Hall. It was tested by a young lady of the family of Isaac Norris, who with Franklin was on the committee in charge

that most of them gave little attention to our struggle over here. Yet several British historians have declared that our successful warfare against both king and Parliament was what finally and definitely established the right of self-government within Britain itself.

Our Revolution had therefore strong supporters in England. The famous English statesman, Charles Fox, when he heard of America's first severe defeat in the battle of Long Island, stood up in Parliament and declared the defeat

was "terrible news" for British liberty. Britons had always guarded their own liberties well; but the Parliamentary leaders who opposed America had not yet learned that liberty for one can only be upheld by giving liberty to all.

The reason that many Englishmen, especially among the upper classes, failed to sympathize with us, was that they regarded the Americans as an ignorant frontier folk, incapable of orderly self-government or persistent warfare. Not even our successful Revolution could quite shake Britons out of this stubborn sureness of their superiority. Indeed, Americans have inherited from them quite a little of this racial confidence. It helps our strength; but easily degenerates into a blind and blundering pride.

Sometimes Parliament tried to rule us well; but just at this time its rule, even toward Englishmen at home, was blindly selfish. This was the most narrow and debased period of Britain's usually broad and high minded government. Kings, courtiers and merchants, all grasped at what they wanted for themselves. When personal selfishness is carried into national affairs, it must breed disaster.

3. ALL LAW MUST BE BASED ON MUTUAL AGREEMENT

Britons have often since excused the course their Parliament then took against America by pointing out how well-meant were some of the laws which most offended us. This avoids the real dispute, which was about Britain's right to make laws for us at all.

The fundamental fact, of course, is that real Law exists only when it is based on mutual agreement. All other so-called laws are merely commands, which must be enforced by arbitrary power. They thus breed hatred between oppressor and oppressed. No authority which extends a law over a body of outsiders who object to it, can then demand

or hope that the outsiders will be obedient when the law injures them, or grateful when it chances to turn in their favor.

Americans had governed themselves from the beginning. They were now a grown-up people; and no power on earth could take self-government away from them. They were starting a new era on earth. In this new land the mass of mankind had at last reached a level where they had enough honesty and intelligence to recognize and follow honest leaders, and had enough boldness and endurance to continue steadfast in defeat. Self-government only becomes possible when a nation can reach and maintain this level.

Europe, except among the hardy Swiss mountaineers, had found no populace that could do this. No wonder the leaders of the old aristocratic system failed to understand us. They did not believe such a people was possible.

4. "TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY"

This question of self-rule was the real basis of all our trouble with Britain. The difficulty, as has been repeatedly pointed out, had spread through all our colonial history from the beginning. The dispute did not, however, reach an intense stage until after 1760; because only then did the wealth of the colonies begin to attract serious notice. Parliament was studying how to rule its new world-empire. It must have funds, and so wanted to collect taxes from America. Hence old arbitrary laws which had been neglected were now enforced here, and new ones were enacted.

The American colonists had no voice in choosing the British Parliament. When that Parliament began exacting money from them, whether for good purposes or ill, there arose the cry afterwards so famous, that "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

The dispute thus seemed at times to be about money. Really, it was always the deeper dispute caused by the newly growing ideas of government. Our people were insisting on their right to the Freedom and the Equality which are the necessary basis of true Law.

5. WRITS OF ASSISTANCE DENIED US THE RIGHTS OF HOME

The first serious clash came in 1761. We have seen that the colonists had long evaded the Navigation Laws by smuggling. During the great French war a new and uglier side to this difficulty had arisen. Some Americans sold supplies to Canada and to other French provinces, even during the war. This of course strengthened France. It was treason, a helping of the enemy as against our own soldiers in time of war. All honest Americans wanted this treason stopped; but Parliament in the effort to check it overrode a deep and long established principle of English liberty.

"An Englishman's house is his castle" was the old saying. It means that each person ought to be master of his own home. No stranger, not even an officer of the law, can insist on entering there. If any person will go to the authorities and declare he knows of evil done within a home, then indeed the owner's right must be swept aside and the home broken into for the larger right of the community. But if the informer has spoken falsely, punishment is due him and recompense due the owner.

Parliament now gave to its officials in America written orders called "Writs of Assistance." These were supposed to "assist" the search for smuggled goods by giving men power to enter any home at any hour. Such writs had long been legal in England but were rarely used. In war they were a necessity against treason; but no free people would submit to them in time of peace.

6. JAMES OTIS LED AMERICANS TO RESIST THESE WRITS

In 1761, after the actual fighting with Canada was ended, the first of these writs were issued in Boston. James Otis, the legal official to issue them, refused to act. Instead, Otis resigned his office, and in a celebrated speech in court protested against the writs. He declared them "the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of Law, that ever was found in an English lawbook." He denied the right of Parliament to pass such a law, or of kings or law courts to enforce it.

This speech has been called the cornerstone of American liberty. John Adams, who was to be our second president, looked back to this speech in later days and wrote of it, "Otis was a flame of fire. Then and there the child 'Independence' was born."

When the colonies became the United States they put into their Constitution a section forever forbidding such "general warrants." Even today our own trusted police must know that you have broken a law and so defied the general rights of the community, before they can defy your personal rights by forcing a way into your home.

Otis, on account of his speeches, was assaulted in public by a British officer and beaten over the head with a stick. As a result, he remained half insane until his death years later. In his darkened mind he imagined himself still fighting for American freedom.

7. PARLIAMENT PLANNED TO RAISE MONEY FROM AMERICA

The Writs of Assistance soon dropped out of frequent use; but the British officials still issued them at times, and Americans were still deeply indignant when a second clash arose. Britain, being deeply in debt as a result of the great

war with France, resolved to tax the colonists to cover part of her expenses.

The British plea was that the money had been spent to help the colonies against Canada. The American answer was that the cost of the war both in lives and property had already weighed far more heavily on the colonies than on Britain; that Britain had fought France for her own good, not theirs; and that Britain had won a world empire and a wealth of trade far exceeding what money the war had cost her.

The truth of these arguments did not change the purpose of Parliament. Yet, as it had never before laid a direct money tax on the colonies, the prime minister, Lord Grenville began cautiously. He "suggested" that each colonial Assembly should itself raise that colony's share of the tax money Britain desired. Not a single Assembly obeyed Grenville's polite "suggestion."

8. TWO UNWISE LAWS DISCRIMINATED AGAINST AMERICANS

This forced the issue. Had Britain an absolute power over the Americans? Could Parliament order us to accept any law it passed? Or could the colonists refuse laws which treated them differently from other Englishmen, special tax laws such as Grenville suggested?

Americans were ready to admit that Parliament must issue general laws for the great new empire which was growing up. At first they only insisted that these laws must apply in England the same as in America.

Parliament ignored this principle. In 1765 it passed two laws which were to apply to America alone. Probably no man in either country realized at the moment the complete separation to which these two laws would lead.

9. THE QUARTERING ACT SENT SOLDIERS TO OVERAWE US

One of these threatening laws was called the "Quartering Act." It relieved Britain of a portion of her expensive army by sending the troops to our colonies. Our people were ordered to supply the soldiers with "quarters," that is, lodgings and their upkeep.

This meant sending soldiers here just when the successful war had made them needless, since it had driven Britain's last rival from the eastern half of the continent. The reason given for sending them was that they would check rebellion in Canada and keep the Indians in subjection.

The Americans, however, had already endured the insolence of British soldiers and British generals, and wanted no more of it. They felt that the troops were really meant to keep them in subjection. Canada was too exhausted to revolt; and against the Indians the colonists much preferred to continue to protect themselves. They had always done this; and even though they had sometimes done it very poorly, Braddock and his successors had made a worse failure of the task.

10. THE STAMP ACT ROUSED OPEN RESISTANCE

The other unwise law that Parliament passed was the notorious "Stamp Act." This aimed to raise money directly from the colonies. It ordered that all legal papers and all printed publications here must be made out on stamped paper, which was to be bought from the government. A somewhat similar law existed in Britain; but its taxes were different. This was a direct tax on the colonies alone.

This act, as the Americans saw, struck at the very root of their liberty. If Parliament could take money from them and from them alone on each newspaper and each business

trade, it could take money on everything. It could take all their money. They were wholly at the mercy of a power over which they had no control.

For the first time their vehement protests advanced from words to actions. Young men everywhere banded themselves together in groups known as Sons of Liberty or "the Liberty Boys." These took the lead in open resistance. In several seaports the stamps sent from England were burned. In New York a procession carried through the streets a copy of the Stamp Act, labelled, "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America."

The Liberty Boys and the Tories

II. PATRICK HENRY LED THE PROTEST IN OUR LEGISLATURES

Patrick Henry was a daring Virginia orator already noted for resistance to British injustice. He now led the Virginia legislature in passing a series of resolutions declaring that neither Parliament nor King had any right to tax them. His speech rang with vigorous defiance. He mentioned earlier cases where tyrants had been overthrown by their subjects. "Tarquin and Caesar," he cried, "had

each his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third—"

"Treason! Treason!" protested some of his hearers.

"May profit by their example," concluded the orator defiantly. "If that be treason make the most of it!"

Virginia passed a "Declaration of Rights." Nine of the colonies sent delegates to New York and there agreed upon a similar declaration. The day on which the Stamp Act was to go into effect was made a day of mourning everywhere. Church bells were tolled; buildings were draped in black.

Patrick Henry's Virginia Homestead, Red Hill

12. "NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS" DEFEATED THE STAMP ACT

Threatened by the Liberty Boys and frightened by this widespread solemn anger, the government agents made no effort to sell the stamps. No stamps were ever openly used. After a short pause, business was continued without them. Moreover, American merchants began those "agreements"

which afterward became so important. Each man pledged himself not to trade with England, nor even to pay his trade debts there, till the offensive law was repealed.

The English Government was astonished and a little awed. Pitt was openly exultant. "I rejoice," he cried out in Parliament, "I rejoice that America has resisted."

The tax was a complete failure. It brought in no money; and the merchants of England, suffering under the American "agreements," urgently demanded its repeal. Parliament bowed to the almost universal protest and withdrew the Stamp Act the next year.

13. BRITAIN INSISTED ON HER RIGHT TO TAX AMERICA

Up to this time King George had taken no part in this tax legislation. But the men who opposed his rule in Parliament were the champions of America; so the king became obstinately set against the defiant colonists. New and more severe ministers replaced Grenville, until one of them, Lord North, proved wholly to the king's satisfaction. From that time onward George III and Lord North devoted themselves deliberately to the task of compelling America to obedience. To compel an entire people is not to govern them. It is to make them slaves.

Before the struggle had become thus embittered, a "tariff law" was passed (1767). This taxed a number of necessary articles when these were imported into America. Similar laws for "regulating trade" had been enforced in an earlier day without much opposition; but now the Americans were aroused and watchful.

They renewed their "agreements," directing these now to "non-importation" of the taxed articles. Their business suffered, but that of British merchants suffered even more. The Liberty Boys resumed their rough activities.

Gentler societies called Liberty Girls were also formed. The members pledged themselves to dress only in American goods; and as America then wove only "homespun," a rough and undecorated cloth, this was a real deprivation. The Liberty Girls also offered prizes for the best and quickest weavers and held contests in making better homespun. The women were as resolute for non-importation as were the men.

14. AMERICA DID NOT YET DESIRE SEPARATION FROM BRITAIN

Massachusetts now led the other colonies in a further step. Her legislature issued an invitation to the others to consult on means of resisting the tariff law. The enraged King George declared that such an invitation was an open call to "treason."

Thus, the ugly threat was brought out at last, the old cry of kingly absolutism, which declares that a helpless people must accept whatever commands some arbitrary ruling power gives. If not, then absolutism will call the people traitors and slay them. The other colonies promptly expressed support of Massachusetts; and from this time forward she was regarded both in America and England as the leader in resistance.

Everywhere in the colonies, Assemblies were passing resolutions of defiance and were being dismissed by the royal governors. Then they met unofficially. As yet, there was no real thought of "treason," that is, of revolt against British rule within the limits of British law. The colonists were Englishmen demanding their rights, just as Londoners might do—and more than once had done. Withdrawal from the empire was as yet no more than a dark shadow in the background, as displeasing to most Americans as to the folk in England.

15. THE "BOSTON MASSACRE" INCREASED PUBLIC RESENTMENT

The King and Lord North resolved that America, and Boston in particular, should be punished—not governed you must note, but "punished." A government which seeks thus to crush its people instead of helping them, is clearly not *their* government. It is a mere monster of brute force and ill-temper disguising itself as law.

America's punishment was begun by sending several regiments under the hated "Quartering Act" to live in—and on—Boston. Naturally, the townfolk there hated these "redcoats." They were hooted in the streets; quarrels were frequent. Finally a mob attacked a squad of soldiers on guard-duty. The mob threw stones and threatened to kill; and the soldiers fired on them in self-defense.

Five citizens were killed, and several wounded (May 5, 1770). In the excited state of the public mind, the dead were treated as martyrs. They were given a vast public funeral; and the affray has ever since been known as the "Boston massacre."

It is an honor to America that Boston's chief patriot leaders, John Adams and others, defended the British soldiers, and secured their release when they were brought to trial. Not by mob violence was American liberty to be won, and not amid senseless tumult could it be maintained.

16. DISPUTES AROSE WITHIN THE COLONIES THEMSELVES

Other tumults broke out elsewhere. In New York the Liberty Boys and the British troops opposed each other in sharp fights over a "Liberty Pole." In Rhode Island, a revenue schooner, the Gaspee, dealt so haughtily with the Americans, that eight boatloads of men attacked the Gaspee at night, seized her without loss, and burned her (1772).

A still sharper contest revealed antagonisms of another

kind. In several colonies the newly settled "back counties" had, as we have seen, some grievance against the older and wealthier regions of the coast. In North Carolina especially, the frontier folk went to the point of refusing to pay the taxes and legal fees set by the colonial legislature. They

The Boston Massacre
A contemporary print by the famous patriot engraver, Paul Revere

formed a band of "Regulators" who drove away judges and other officers with whippings.

Finally the royal governor, Tryon, led the militia of the colony in a deadly attack upon the "Regulators" at Alamance Creek (1771). The "back county" men were defeated with heavy losses, and four of their leaders were hanged as

rebels. It was clear that America had factions within itself, its own "party in power," and its "party of protest." Nor had these yet learned to settle their differences by mutual concessions.

17. BRITAIN CENTERED HER EFFORTS ON A TAX ON TEA

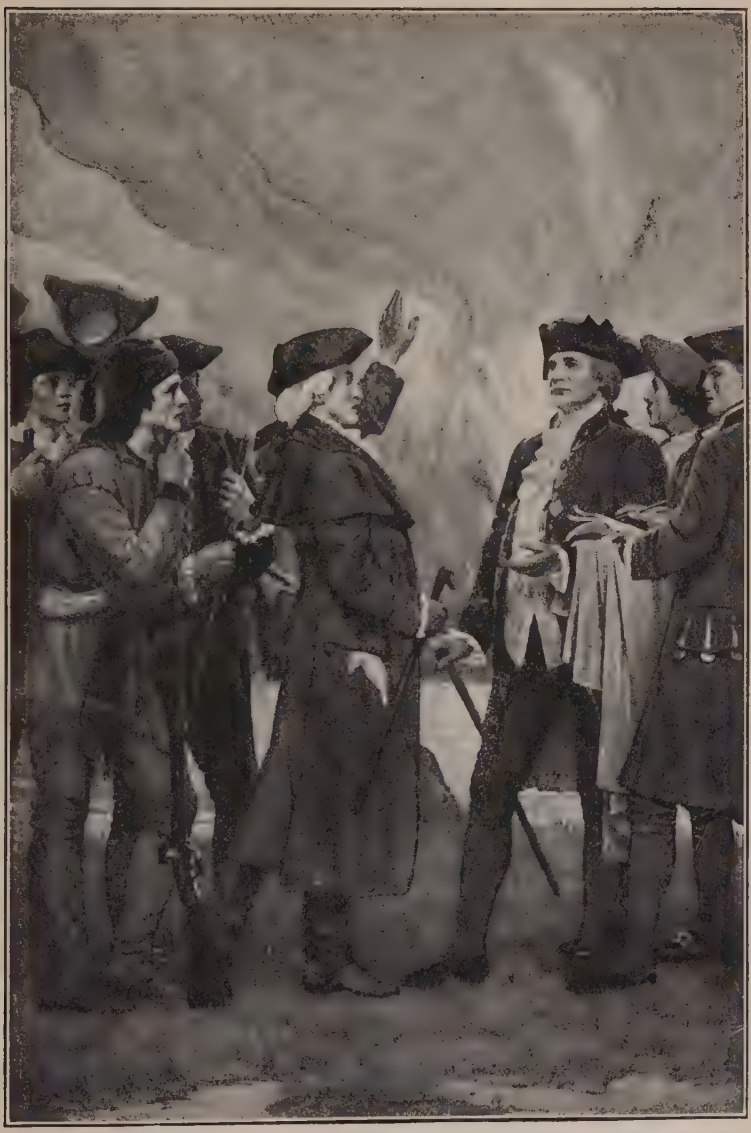
On the very day of the Boston Massacre, Lord North was withdrawing his offensive tariff act. He did this from no sense of justice, but because of the persistent demands of the British merchants suffering from American non-importation agreements. Hence he withdrew the act all except for one sole article. A tiny tariff was allowed to remain on tea.

North hoped thus to establish the principle that Parliament could tax the colonies. He thought the tea-tax was so small it would be paid without objection. If the colonies had really been fighting about money, he might have been right. He failed, as always, to understand that they were fighting for a principle.

Never before or since has tea made such a hubbub in the world. Many colonists everywhere refused to drink or to import it. Now that the Assemblies were being dismissed and the clash of wills was violent, some Americans rallied to the support of Parliament. England's own party names came into use, those who upheld Parliament being called Tories, and its opponents Whigs. So if you were of the Tory or "loyalist" faction you showed it by drinking tea—often at the risk of serious personal discomfort from angry Liberty Boys. Patriotic ladies had their own "tea parties" marked by the absence of tea.

18. THE AMERICANS BARRED TEA FROM THE CONTINENT

In 1773 there came a further outbreak. British merchants were losing money while their tea spoiled in their



The Burning of the Tea Ship "Peggy Stuart" at Annapolis
From the painting by C. Y. Turner in the Court House of Baltimore, Maryland

warehouses. At their urging, Lord North arranged so that, even with the tax, tea could be sold more cheaply here than in Britain. Assuming that now surely the Americans would buy it, the merchants sent out ships loaded with tea to several of our ports at once.

At this attempt to buy their acceptance of the tax by making tea cheap, the Americans became doubly indignant. Everywhere the Liberty Boys prepared to give the teaships a hot reception. At some ports the startled shipmasters took warning and sailed back to England without even attempting to land their tea. In Charleston it was locked away in cellars and its use prevented until years later when it was sold to aid our troops in the Revolution. In Maryland the owner of the teaship Peggy Stewart was compelled to burn up both ship and tea, starting the fire with his own hands.

Thus more than one "tea party" went far in defying the authorities; but as British attention was centered on Boston at the time, her "tea party" became the source of all that followed.

19. BOSTON WAS DRIVEN TO HER FAMED "TEA PARTY"

The Massachusetts royal governor, Hutchinson, though a native of the province, was resolute in upholding Britain. He had ships of war in the harbor and soldiers ashore to see that no Sons of Liberty prevented the landing of the teaships in Boston or the selling of the tea. At this time Samuel Adams, a cousin of John Adams, was the chief of the more radical Boston patriots, the "leader of town meetings." Adams earnestly besought Governor Hutchinson not to drive the people to extremes. The governor, equally resolute, insisted on upholding Britain's law.

A great mass meeting in Boston's "Old South Church," the largest "town meeting" America had yet known, awaited

the result of one last appeal to the governor. The appeal failed; and Samuel Adams, rising solemnly before his devoted followers declared, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." This was the first open threat of Independence.

By "country" Adams meant not America but the British empire. He saw it falling apart in this use of soldiers against the people. Boston had prepared for the clash. Some sixty men disguised as Indians had been waiting for the signal of Adams' solemn words. Argument had failed, so deeds must follow. The sixty suddenly boarded the three teaships in the harbor. They dumped all the tea into the water, and then quickly withdrew (December 16, 1773). This was the famous "Boston Tea Party."

The "North Battery" of Boston in 1775,
Looking Toward Bunker Hill

20. ALL MASSACHUSETTS WAS ANGRILY PUNISHED

The triumph of the Bostonians was great, so was the anger of the governor; but greater still was the anger of king and minister when the news reached England. Boston, already punished, had defied authority again. A series of

further laws were promptly passed which far exceeded any authority Parliament had ever claimed before. America called them the "Intolerable Acts."

Every friend of freedom in Britain was in protest against these laws; but the government was now determined to rule or ruin. Its attitude was flatly that of the bully who will not listen to argument, but inflicts whatever punishment he can, so as to break the will of a weaker opponent. King and Parliament no longer measured their "rights"; they struck with all their force.

The Massachusetts charter was altered so as to suppress all self-government. General Gage, the commander of the soldiers whose presence had caused the tumult, was made governor of the colony. The "Boston Port Bill" closed Boston's harbor to all vessels, so as to ruin its merchants and starve out its people. And Salem instead of Boston was made the capital of the colony (1774).

The Quebec Act, another law passed at this time, offended the colonies yet further. It took away from them all the region between the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, for which they had fought France. Almost every colony from Virginia northward had claimed some part of this region. Now Parliament declared it should belong to none of them but to Britain's French-Catholic province of Canada or Quebec. This would effectually block all westward movements of our settlers into the empty lands, and keep them for British fur merchants.

21. AMERICA RESISTED THIS POWER TO PUNISH; THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET IN PHILADELPHIA

America refused to be terrified or broken by this severity of Parliament. From all over the land, supplies were rushed to Boston to save its citizens from hunger. In August of

1774, the "First Continental Congress" met in Philadelphia. Its delegates had been chosen in one way or another by the colonies or their suppressed legislatures.

While the Congress was thus somewhat informal, its members had been authorized to make pledges for their colonies. It was not a mere gathering for debate, but a body with power to act. Its members had a strong sense of a common cause. Even Canada was represented in this Congress. Its voice was the first speech of our united continent.

The Congress passed and forwarded to King George a celebrated Declaration of Rights. Pitt, the ablest British statesman of the age, declared that no state paper had ever been better drawn than this; that this gathering of despised colonials in Philadelphia must contain men who, in mind, equalled the greatest leaders in all history.

The leaders of this Congress were Washington and Henry from Virginia, Samuel and John Adams from Massachusetts, John and Edward Rutledge from South Carolina, and the actual writer of the Declaration, John Jay of New York, who was to become the great law leader of the new American nation.

The Declaration of Rights pointed out where Parliament had overridden those ancient "rights of Englishmen." It assured "his majesty" that the Americans did not deny him as their sovereign; but it demanded that he and Parliament restore all their rights, especially those of Massachusetts.

22. AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS REPLACED THE ROYAL ONES

Men could no longer shut their eyes to what was happening. In all the colonies the old government machinery was breaking down. Governors who dismissed their legislatures were in their turn threatened with a violent dismissal by the

people. One after another these governors took refuge in the coast towns or even on the British warships which now fringed the coast.

Other crown officials also fled, and in some places the patriots used force. Men who upheld British authority were mobbed and threatened with "tar and feathers," and sometimes suffered cruel indignities. Even a righteous uprising is too often marred by ugly excesses. Fierce spirits resent brutality with brutality.

It is creditable to the colonies that the disorder was no worse. Everywhere the "town-meeting" spirit saved us. Towns and counties regulated themselves. They insisted upon order, and they got it. People's governments grew up, as it were, over night on the ruins of the former royal governments.

23. SOME COLONIES PARTED UNWILLINGLY WITH GOOD GOVERNORS

Not all the colonies had harsh or reckless governors. Both Connecticut and Rhode Island possessed the right of electing their own governors; and Connecticut in particular found in her governor, Jonathan Trumbull, one of the ablest leaders of the war. In Pennsylvania, Governor John Penn continued quietly at the head of the colony until the actual Declaration of Independence compelled a choice between England and America. Only then did he withdraw.

Specially noteworthy amid all the confusion was the dignified course of New Jersey. Its Governor was William Franklin, a son of Benjamin Franklin, and among the most able and popular of royal governors. William Franklin sought to soften the temper of both king and colony, and when he felt his duty to the king compelled him to oppose his people officially, he frankly told them so. They entreated him to cast his lot with them and with America. His

famous father visited and pleaded with him, but the younger Franklin insisted on remaining "loyal."

As a result his people deposed him. Some violent Whigs urged his imprisonment; but he promised the Jersey Assembly to do nothing secret against them, and they accepted his parole and allowed him to act as "governor in retirement" until actual war began. Then they politely arrested him and his supporters, and he was held as a prisoner until exchanged.

The Hancock-Clark House at Lexington
Where Hancock and Adams were lodging and were sought by the British

24. EACH COLONY ORGANIZED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST FORCE

In Virginia, Patrick Henry again came to the front. The conservative Virginia legislators were hesitating as to how far to go in their defiance of the royal governor. Henry thrilled them and the continent with a famous speech in which tradition tells us that he said, "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, *Give me Liberty or give me Death.*"

In Massachusetts the legislature which had been suppressed met in secret under the presidency of John Hancock, a rich Boston ship owner. Ship-owning often included smuggling in those days; and the Britons tauntingly called Hancock "the king of the smugglers." He was the official leader of the Massachusetts resistance, as Samuel Adams was its popular leader. Under Hancock the legislature organized an extra militia of "minute men," so called because they held themselves ready to come armed to the defense of the colony at a minute's notice.

Everywhere men gathered stores of powder and shot. Several of the colonies in proclaiming anew those Non-importation Agreements which had proved so effective in the past, were careful to specify that sulphur and saltpeter might be imported, since these were "articles of increasing necessity." They were the articles of which gunpowder was made.

25. THE BRITISH FORCED THE FIRST FIGHT AT LEXINGTON

Now came the explosion. Hancock and Samuel Adams had both been declared traitors, and were fugitives from Boston. General Gage, learning that they were at the town of Lexington, conceived the plan of crushing Massachusetts at one stroke by secretly arresting them both. At the same time he planned to seize the colonists' gathered stores of powder. He sent out a night expedition of eight hundred British soldiers, "the best troops in the world."

Paul Revere won fame by the "midnight ride" in which he sped ahead of the "redcoats" to warn the country. Hancock and Adams escaped. The British troops on reaching Lexington found a few of the minute men gathered there. These were ordered to disperse. They stood firm.

Both sides felt the gravity of the moment. Neither wished

Lexington
From a painting in the possession of the Lexington Historical Society

to open the horrors of war by firing first. We are not sure who did. But the British advanced, and shots were heard. Then a British volley was sharply ordered, and eight of Lexington's militia lay dead upon the green. The survivors escaped capture by flight. But as they fled, they returned the British fire (April 19, 1775).

26. THE BRITISH WERE DRIVEN BACK FROM CONCORD

At the next town, Concord, considerable military stores had been hidden. The British advanced to Concord, and destroyed some of the supplies. A party of them began tearing down the Concord Bridge; but the colonial militia were now ready and hastened to its defense. Both sides fired, and the British fell back.

That marked the beginning of the British retreat, the hurling back of Britain's military power by the untrained but determined American people. That first volley at Concord bridge is called "the shot heard round the world."

The British commander saw that the whole countryside was now fast rising against him, so he started to march back to Boston. The armed militia followed. They had no bayonets to resist a British bayonet charge, but they had learned fighting from the Indians. The Britons held the open road; but from behind every stone wall, every tree, the minute men, gathering from everywhere, discharged their muskets at the marching column.

27. THE FARMERS DROVE THE "REGULARS" TO FLIGHT

The men of the retreating column fell fast. Their orderly march became more like a flight. They fairly ran, "with tongues hanging from their mouths" says one Britisher. Men dropped exhausted on the road, and were left behind to be made prisoners. Not one of the column would have

reached Boston had not a body of reinforcements, a thousand strong, been sent out to rescue them. Even this larger force suffered sorely in the continued retreat.

Three hundred British soldiers fell in this fierce running fight. The Americans lost less than a hundred. How many of our fighting men actually reached the battle we cannot say; but they finally outnumbered their foes. The minute men of one town are said to have kept on the run for sixteen miles to reach the battlefield in time. We know of one drummer-boy who died from the exhaustion of the effort.

The British troops complained that our men did not "fight fair," by which they meant that the farmers had not stood still in front of them to be bayoneted. Moreover, the farmers had aimed their guns before firing, something no European troops had learned to do. That was what marked this as the beginning of a new era in the world. The common people of one land at least had learned to think. They had ceased to be a helpless peasantry. They fought with intelligence and not in hopeless brute despair.

28. THE AMERICAN NATION WAS BORN OF UNITED EFFORT

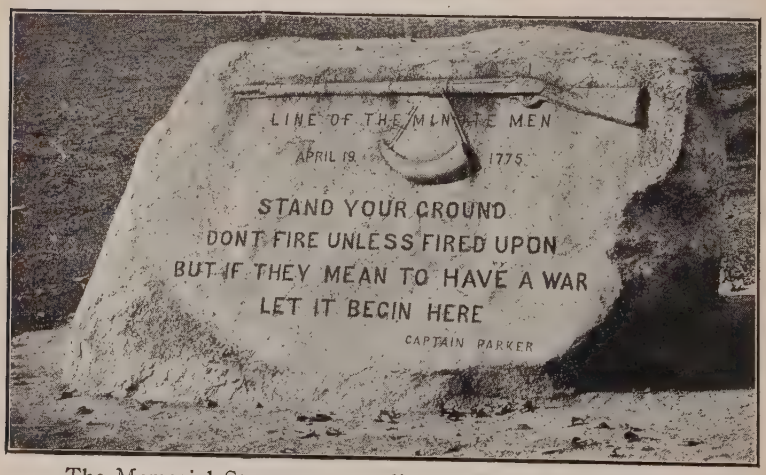
The American Revolution began then and there at Lexington. If Britain insisted on a fight to enforce her mastery, the Massachusetts men were ready for her. News of the resolute resistance sped like fire through the colonies. Massachusetts farmers had made the renowned British regulars "run like sheep."

In every colony there was eager support for this armed defiance. Loyalists joined the patriots or sank for a time into silence. Militia companies flocked toward Boston. Soon there were twenty thousand armed men gathered to besiege Gage's trained army within the city. The British

"military governor" would send no more soldiers on raids against undefended American towns.

In this sudden march on Boston, Israel Putnam, a noted Indian fighter from the old French wars, led the militia of Connecticut. John Stark, a similar frontier veteran, led the New Hampshire men; and Nathanael Greene, a young fighting Quaker, led the Rhode Islanders. These three were thus the earliest leaders of the Revolution to march away from their own home region to fight for the continent. They were three heroes; you will hear of each of them again.

A great new impulse had arisen to bind such men together. Americans themselves as yet scarce realized the fact; but a new nation, a determined nation of Americans, had been born on that date of April 19, 1775. It was born from the blood that had been shed at Lexington, and from the successful resistance begun at Concord.



The Memorial Stone now standing on Lexington Common

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION

A story of how Loyalty was changed to Absolute Defiance

(1775–1777)

1. THE REVOLUTION CREATED NOT ONE NATION BUT THIRTEEN

The American colonies entered no permanent union during their war against Britain. To its end they remained thirteen separate, independent States. They fought in a common cause, but they expected to act separately thereafter, each attending to its own affairs. The idea of their oneness as a nation was not yet realized.

Indeed, in 1775, most Americans were still very positively Englishmen. They still loved and admired the mighty motherland. Even after Lexington, they hoped that Parliament would relent, or that some compromise might be arranged. Perhaps the Whigs of Britain might themselves revolt, as liberty-loving Britains had before, against a king who refused to move onward with the times.

Only as the breach widened, as blow followed blow on either side, did the temper of America harden. Defiance took the place of the old esteem. Slowly, our people became fixed in their resolve for a complete separation. It was not until more than a year after Lexington that they took the decisive step of declaring our independence.

2. SOME COLONISTS SUPPORTED BRITAIN TO THE END

Even to the end of the war, there were many colonists who clung to Britain. Among these Tories or "loyalists,"

many were honorable men who believed it their duty to uphold the king. These stood boldly by their ancient faith. They sacrificed home, friends, and fortune, and finally departed as exiles to Canada or Florida or other British lands.

Some wealthy folk remained Tories for fear of losing their estates. Others, unhappily, supported Britain secretly, treacherously, for private gain. These last were the "Tories" who roused the hatred of our people and gave to the name a bitter shame that clung to it for generations. In the heat of conflict it is not always easy to distinguish the manly opponent from the hired betrayer.

New England despite its long record of resistance had still some loyalists, including its Church of England folk. New York had a large body of these, who afterward formed whole Tory regiments on the British side. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey the Quakers were earnestly opposed to warfare, and urged patience under injustice. Only very slowly did they become so outraged as to choose fighting rather than endurance. In the farthest south, where settlement had been most recent, the attachment to England was still warm. There, the loyalists were strong enough to attempt to check the Revolution by armed resistance.

3. VIRGINIA LED THE REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH

Virginia, the "Old Dominion," once the most loyal of cavalier colonies, led the South in revolt. That fact marks the completeness of the break with England. Virginia, now nearly two centuries old, had an aristocracy and traditions of her own. Her leaders were philosophic thinkers, students of man's future, clear of sight and high of soul. They saw the hopelessness and the shame of surrendering their studied faith at the threat of force. So Virginia's aris-

tocrats, her Lees and Washingtons, her Randolphs, Carters and Pages, now proclaimed their common cause with the farmers of New England.

The Virginia royal governor, Lord Dunmore, threatened to arm the negro slaves against the whites, and to crush Virginia with a black war. In this danger, the colonists chose Patrick Henry to take the governor's place and become their leader. Dunmore fled to a British warship off Norfolk. From this safe shelter he aided in raising an army

The British Fleet Burning Norfolk in Virginia

of Virginia loyalists. These were quickly defeated by the patriots in a sharp fight at Great Bridge.

Dunmore then ordered his ships to bombard and destroy Norfolk (January 1, 1776). The city perished in flames. This was an act of deliberate destruction of a helpless city. It treated all Virginians as Britain's public enemies. It did not, however, terrify them into submission; they sternly accepted the necessity of a complete break with this "government by destruction."

4. VERMONT CAPTURED THE FORTS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

Meanwhile, events in New England moved rapidly after the Lexington fight. Colonel Ethan Allen was the leading

patriot in the region now Vermont, which means "green mountains." The land of Vermont was at that time claimed by both New Hampshire and New York. Its settlers held their farms chiefly under grants from New Hampshire, and had to defend themselves against officials from New York as well as against Canada's Indians.

The "Green Mountain Boys" had become bold and skillful fighters. Allen with less than a hundred of them captured the forts on Lake Champlain. The chief stronghold, Fort Ticonderoga, was stormed in a well planned night attack. Allen burst into the bedroom of the sleeping commander and summoned him to surrender.

There is a legend that the official asked dazedly on what authority the intruder acted, and that Allen thunderously replied, "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Then he drove the commander out in his night clothes to announce his surrender to the bewildered British soldiers who were still trying to fight.

Thus the fortress which had repulsed armies in the late French war, now surrendered to a handful of daring minute-men (May 10, 1775). Valuable cannon and artillery stores were obtained. Moreover the ancient warpath down Lake Champlain was secured to the Americans. Along this had swept the warfare of over a hundred years between Canada and New York.

5. THE "CONTINENTAL CONGRESS" TOOK CONTROL OF THE WAR

A second "Continental Congress" met at Philadelphia (May 1775). It contained most of the same leaders as before, and also another to whom all deferred, Benjamin Franklin, then the most famous man in America. He had been representing the colonies in England; but all his wis-

dom had been unable to win us more kindly treatment there, so he came home to aid the struggle here.

This assemblage was much more regularly selected than that of the former year. It was accepted everywhere as having some general authority over all the colonies. It undertook the direction of affairs throughout the war, and continued as the governing body until 1783. Philadelphia thus became the first capital of the assembled colonies.

The "Congress" had no positive authority over the self-ruling, separated States. They obeyed or disobeyed it as each pleased, or disputed with it, or ignored it. Congress could not even tax our people for money to fight with. It was a feeble body indeed, to undertake the direction of a war against a great power like Britain.

America won her freedom not by wise organization, but by the intense "will to win" among her people. She won by persisting and enduring, despite the enormous handicap of a helpless government, divided councils, and divided States.

6. HANCOCK LED CONGRESS; WASHINGTON LED THE ARMY

John Hancock, now a condemned "rebel," was chosen by the Congress as its President; and Washington was selected to be the commander-in-chief of all the American forces. These two thus became the formal chiefs of the Revolution, Hancock in Congress, Washington in the field.

Hancock was already pledged to the cause; but for Washington this was the stern moment of decision. Though a member of the Congress, he had not yet taken such a part in the revolt as to be singled out for punishment like Hancock. He might still withdraw to wealth and peace on his Mount Vernon estate, and submit to Britain's exactions as others had done. But he knew that a soldier was

needed now; and no other American soldier was so known and trusted as he.

Hence, after prayer and grave deliberation, Washington accepted the grim responsibility. It meant for him execution as a traitor if the revolt failed; and even in success, it meant that he must lead thousands of his countrymen to death.

7. AMERICANS BROKE THE BRITISH LINE AT BUNKER HILL

Washington at once set out to take command of the troops gathered around Boston. Before he reached them, they had fought the famous battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775). This hill was part of a ridge from which Boston might be bombarded by cannon. To threaten this bombardment American troops under Colonel Prescott marched secretly at night and seized the ridge. Here they hurriedly began building entrenchments.

When in the morning General Gage saw our men at work, he resolved to protect his soldiers in Boston by storming the earthworks at once, before they grew too strong. First, his warships bombarded the little line of new-dug earth. Then, as the despised Americans did not flee, three thousand British soldiers rushed gallantly to the assault.

The Americans had less than half as many men, and they had no bayonets to match the British troops. Yet our men waited firmly behind their rude breastworks, until the charging column almost reached them. Then they fired their muskets with such deadly effect that the column wavered and broke, and the Britons fled. A second time this happened. "Don't fire, lads," said Putnam, who was there as a volunteer, "till you can see the whites of their eyes."

For a third time the gallant Britons advanced; and now the American ammunition was exhausted. The Britons

Bunker Hill

General Joseph Warren, a noted Massachusetts leader, served in the ranks as a volunteer at Bunker Hill and was slain. John Trumbull, America's great painter of the Revolution, made this picture of the battle center on Warren's fall.

poured over the embankment, and the Americans could only use their muskets as clubs against the deadly bayonets. Our men still fought desperately, but had to flee with heavy loss

8. THE BATTLE SHOWED THE FIGHTING POWER OF AMERICANS

No battle has ever been contested with sterner resolution than Bunker Hill. Englishmen fighting against Englishmen! The British regiments lost over a thousand men, a third of the attacking forces; the Americans lost over four hundred, mainly in those last minutes of hopeless resistance to the bayonets.

The effect of the battle was tremendous. Britain now realized that this was a serious war, not a mere mad uprising of the helpless. The Americans, though they had been defeated, rejoiced as if at a victory. When news of the fight reached Washington, he asked only, "Did the militia stand fire? Then, thank God, the future of America is assured."

Something of the same sort seems to have impressed the British. They had won the little earth embankment, but at such a cost as no army could afford. Shrewd young General Greene remarked that he "would like to sell them another hill at the same price."

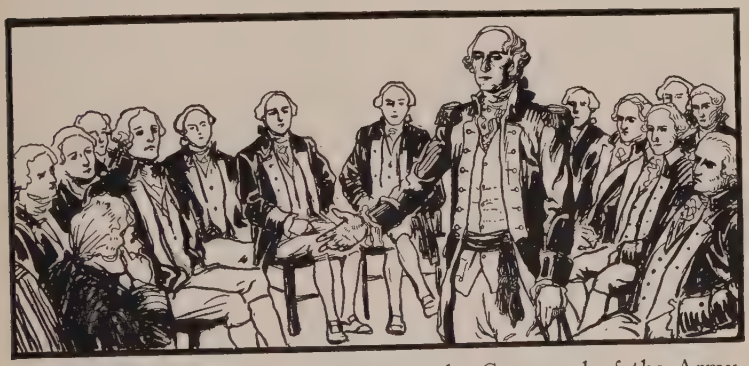
9. THE BRITISH RAVAGED BOTH BY SEA AND BY LAND

Washington now took command around Boston, and began a regular siege. Gage, unable any longer to rush out and "punish" New England by land, tried to do so by sea. He sent his warships on a general ravaging of the coasts. Falmouth in Maine was burned, even before the burning of Norfolk in Virginia. North as well as South was thus

taught that the British soldiers now regarded the entire country as a land of enemies to be destroyed, not as fellow Britons to be protected.

King George could not at all understand why his famous troops should submit to be thus penned up in Boston. He expected them to march out and scatter these untrained "farmers." The idea that hunters were already able fighters had not pierced his mind. So he summoned General Gage home; and Sir William Howe, the general who had stormed Bunker Hill, was made commander of Boston and of all the British in the colonies.

Yet Howe dared no more than Gage to attack the line of entrenchments with which Washington skillfully surrounded Boston.



Washington Accepts from Congress the Command of the Army

10. WASHINGTON TRAINED A CONTINENTAL ARMY AT BOSTON

Had Howe known the real weakness of the Americans, he might well have attacked. The feebleness of militia as soldiers was now made plain. The "minute" men were farmers, with crops to be gathered. They were ready to

fight for a day or a week, but not to give all their time to it as in this siege. There was no power of organization. Each man was his own general. When he needed to go home, he went. Washington could not be sure of having men anywhere.

With that all-round genius of his, which was really the height of common sense, he set himself to securing some regular troops. He wanted men who had no business outside the army, men whom he could train, and on whom he could rely. These "regulars" were called the "Continentals," since they were paid by Congress and belonged to the colonies as a whole. By degrees they became the backbone of our army.

At a later date, even British commanders praised these Continentals, admiring their height and strength, their cool bravery and deadly shooting. They, under Washington, won the war.

While the "Continentals" were being formed, the fear of the encircling entrenchments held the Britons idle in Boston. Thus, with infinite patience, through all the summer and winter of 1775, Washington built up a real army, in the very face of the enemy.

II. WE TRIED TO BRING CANADA TO OUR SIDE

There was one other brilliant and tragic struggle of 1775. The colonies had reason to hope that Canada might join them in their revolt. She was still French at heart, and though strongly garrisoned with British soldiers, had no love for their rule. Allen's capture of Lake Champlain had opened a road to Canada; and Washington sent a double expedition northward, under two dashing generals. Richard Montgomery, a New York Irishman, led a force openly up

Lake Champlain, and Benedict Arnold of Connecticut led one secretly across the wilds of northern Maine.

Both columns performed prodigies of valor. Montgomery captured one strong post after another; and the British withdrew from Montreal at his approach. Arnold, despite failing supplies, forced his way through trackless woods and hostile Indians and winter storms. At length with only half his exhausted followers still alive, he reached and besieged Quebec.

But Canada did not rise to join the Americans. Benjamin Franklin was sent by Congress to Montreal to urge an alliance. He found Montgomery compelled to rule the city as a captured foe. The French Canadians had been pleased by Parliament's Quebec Act, which protected both their territory and their religion. They dreaded New England's intolerance; and they had been fighting New York for too many generations to love her now.

12. THE CANADA INVASION FAILED AMID TRAGIC HEROISM

All the remaining forces in Canada were now gathered at Quebec. Montgomery joined Arnold there, and took command of one of the most amazing sieges in history. The soldiers within the city far outnumbered their besiegers. Yet the high spirit of our men enabled them to maintain the attack through all the misery of a Canadian winter. Cold, disease, and starvation killed half our troops. Still the young generals persisted.

On New Years's eve, with only seven hundred men who could stand up and stagger forward, Montgomery attempted to storm the city. Had he succeeded, he would have ranked among earth's most noted fighters; but his plans had been betrayed. The American charge was met by

a cannon volley, before which Montgomery himself was the first to fall. In very pity, the British sent out and buried the frozen dead.

Arnold, though severely wounded, still maintained the siege all winter with his handful of starving spectres. In the spring the arrival of yet more British soldiers forced

Arnold's Naval Battle on Lake Champlain, a Contemporary Print

him to retreat. Even then he continued fighting. He built a fleet of boats on Lake Champlain; and though the British finally destroyed these, yet Arnold's desperate resistance held back an invasion from Canada through all the year of 1776.

Human beings have never endured greater extremes of sufferings than did these gallant Americans through this whole frightful campaign. They failed; but it was a failure that made famous the fighting strength of our men, and also their grim endurance.

13. BOSTON WAS RESCUED EARLY IN 1776
OUR COLONIES WERE SWEPT CLEAN OF BRITAIN'S TROOPS

By March of 1776 Washington felt strong enough to begin an attack on Boston. He sent his Continentals to build entrenchments on some heights close to the city. These commanded Boston from the south as Bunker Hill had done from the north.

This was a direct challenge to Howe. Perhaps he would have repeated his prompt attack of Bunker Hill, but several days of heavy storm delayed him. The Americans worked through the storm, and made their posts so strong that Howe declared he would not "pay a Bunker Hill price" for them. Instead, being ever a manly, generous foe, he offered to abandon the city without harming it. Washington gladly agreed; and Howe and all his troops sailed peaceably away to Nova Scotia (March 17, 1776).

At this time Georgia had still a royal governor, who, by the aid of a loyalist militia, held office yet a little longer. Except for that, our colonies were for the moment wholly freed of British troops.

With Howe there sailed from Boston the first of an unhappy people. The loyalists of New England had done much to uphold the British and dared not now remain to face their former friends. Gathering such property as they could, they went to settle in Nova Scotia. Other loyalists, from New York and farther south, fled to Canada at later periods, and planted there an intensely pro-British population. A similar loyalist colony was planted in what was then West Florida, and spread up the Mississippi valley to Natchez. These southern loyalists, however, afterward made common cause with our other Mississippi pioneers, and so became reunited with our nation. They formed some of our best soldiers in the War of 1812.

14. THE CAROLINAS WON A TEMPORARY FREEDOM

In the South, 1776 opened with an effort by the British governor of North Carolina to seize control. There were many Scotch Highlanders here who clung to their "king" through everything. They raised an army of over a thousand men and attacked the patriot towns. Some of the former "regulators" who had resisted the colonial militia at the Alamance Creek battle, now joined the loyalists to pay off old scores. Their combined forces were completely defeated and scattered by a vigorous patriot attack at Moore's Creek (February 27).

Colonel Moultrie's Defense of Charleston

A British fleet had sailed from Boston to aid these southern loyalists. Finding them dispersed, the commander sailed on to South Carolina and attacked Charleston. It was defended by Colonel Moultrie from a rude fort of soft logs hastily set up at the harbor entrance. The British ships thought they could easily destroy this; but their cannon shot sank harmlessly into the soft wood.

Moultrie's flag was carried away by the storm of shots; but a soldier, Sergeant Jasper, sprang to the wall and refixed the flag, in defiance of the British fire. Meanwhile

Moultrie's few cannon hammered the attacking ships for heavy losses (June 28).

Again, as at Bunker Hill, the British commanders blindly underrated their American foes, and were taught a bitter lesson. The shattered fleet sailed back to the north. For two years thereafter the South was left to its own people. Even the Georgia royal governor surrendered; and the patriots held complete and orderly control. Britain concentrated her forces against the North.

15. CONGRESS PROCLAIMED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The repeated British raids along the coast had proved to the Americans that King George really meant to grind them to ruin. British still clung to the old idea of rulership, and regarded us as a subject race who must obey or perish. Our hard-won farms were being destroyed; our towns burned. The Britons even threatened to hang as traitors any of our soldiers they might capture; but Washington promptly stopped that by warning them he would hang man for man. To return into loyal "brotherhood" with such destroyers was impossible. We must fight for independence.

The necessity of this was emphasized in a remarkable pamphlet, Common Sense, by Thomas Paine. Paine's words were read everywhere and did much to convince our people. Several communities and even some Colonial Assemblies passed resolutions looking toward separation. A noted example occurred in Mecklenberg County in North Carolina. The "Mecklenberg declaration" dismissed all former officials and proclaimed a temporary style of government in the county "until laws shall be provided for us by Congress."

Finally Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, having received instructions from his colony, rose in Congress and moved (June 7) "that these United States are and ought to be free

and independent States." After long and careful consideration, the Congress at Philadelphia, on July 4th, 1776, passed our Declaration of Independence.

This remarkable document was written by Thomas Jefferson, a young Virginia enthusiast just rising into leadership. He was one of a committee which included Franklin and John Adams, but the older men entrusted the actual wording of the paper to his impassioned youth.

Part of this splendid document is devoted to naming a list of the injuries done us by the Britons. These are today past history. But the body of the Declaration proclaims great general principles of freedom and of government. These will be as vital tomorrow as today. These eternal principles, liberty, equality, justice and democracy, asserted in the Declaration were afterward established as laws in our National Constitution. The Declaration was the blossoming of liberty in our land. The Constitution was its ripened fruit.

16. THIS DECLARATION HOLDS THE ESSENCE OF GOVERNMENT

Every American should know by heart the living passages of this great Declaration, and should weigh them well. It says that "All men are created equal." That means, not with equal brains or bodies, but with equal claims to justice, equal rights. It asserts that men are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; and "among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

The clear-thinking Jefferson then points out that governments can only derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that when a government fails to represent its people thus, they have not only the right but the duty "to alter or to abolish it." Yet Jefferson promptly limits this latter statement with the thoughtful warning that

"Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes."

At its close the Declaration asserts that "These United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States." It then in its final sentence says: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor."

The decisive step had been taken.

"Independence Hall" in Philadelphia
A contemporary print of the building, still preserved

17. THE DECLARATION DREW US TOWARD UNION

All but one of the members of the Congress signed this solemn declaration. Tradition tells us of another delegate who said anxiously, "We must all hang together now." To which Franklin with grim wit responded, "Or we shall all hang separately."

The government of each colony formally approved the Declaration; some colonies added separate declarations of independence of their own. This was a sign of their disunion. They did not feel that the words of Congress had been their words, or could quite pledge their allegiance.

The people in general showed no such legal hesitation. They felt the joy of union. Washington read the Declaration in full to his assembled army. The entire country rejoiced with eager celebrations. July 4th became then and there our national holiday, "Independence Day."

18. BUT UNION WAS DELAYED AND DISASTERS GATHERED

The Declaration brought this "Second Continental Congress" to the height of its power and influence. Its members now strove to form a stronger central government, which would bind the colonies together, at least for the war. But so many objections arose that no one plan met general approval; and not until 1781 was any formal league established.

Thus, through all the war Congress continued as helpless as before, a vague body, which might give orders about everything, but could enforce them about nothing. As the years passed, its commands and even its entreaties were so often ignored, that it fell into ridicule. Many of its early leaders refused to waste their time attending it. Through these heavy years, Henry Laurens of South Carolina became president of the Congress, and was its chief champion.

Now, too, there came upon us, what a famous writer of the day called "The times that try men's souls." It was as if Almighty Wisdom meant to test the new nation immediately and to the uttermost, to impress upon the colonists that Independence is no slight thing which each one of us

can easily hold. We must guard it, endure for it, and use it wisely; or we lose it.

19. BRITAIN NOW MADE A HUGE EFFORT TO CRUSH US

Disasters followed one after another through the second half of 1776. Britain made a determined effort at crushing the colonies. She raised the largest war expedition which had ever crossed the ocean. Thirty-seven great warships, with four hundred transport ships carrying troops, gathered off New York under Admiral Lord Howe, an elder brother of General Howe. The latter brought his defeated troops back from Nova Scotia and joined his brother as military commander. Between them they had thirty-five thousand soldiers.

The troops now brought from Europe were many of them foreigners. These were mainly Germans from the little state of Hesse, so we speak of them all as Hessians. King George had found much difficulty in getting Englishmen to enlist for this war against their brothers. Consequently he had hired these unfortunate Hessians from their prince.

Many of these men afterward settled in our country, seizing gladly on this opportunity to escape their tyrant. At first, however, they knew nothing of why they fought or where. The justice of their cause meant nothing to them; they merely marched and fired at an officer's command. Conquerors of the past had contemptuously called such soldiers "cannon-fodder!" That was the stuff of which kings' armies had too frequently been made.

20. NEW YORK CITY WAS LOST

The great armada of the two Howes made a united attack on New York City. Washington had foreseen this, and had marched his army to New York; but he was helpless

against the masses of the British. General Putnam, the old Indian fighter, was overwhelmed in the battle of Long Island (August 27) and lost over a thousand men. This was the first great disaster to the American cause.

In this battle a battalion of Maryland troops sacrificed themselves to save the rest of the army. They fought until almost every man was killed. Nevertheless all Putnam's division of our army would have been captured but for Washington's masterly retreat from Long Island. He ferried the troops across to Manhattan during a dense fog, his little boats being thus hidden from the British war-ships

Soon the Britons advanced across the river to a new attack; and our troops only barely escaped from New York City as the enemy entered it (September 16). Here again, a division of our army came close to capture. Legend says that they were saved by the wit of Mrs. Murray, a Quaker gentlewoman. She welcomed the British generals at her home and detained them with tea and conversation, while the American troops were hurrying out of New York just beyond the Britons' sight.

21. NATHAN HALE WAS HANGED AS A SPY

From this time to the end of the war, New York remained what Boston had formerly been, the headquarters of the British. Washington's forces were badly demoralized by their severe defeat. To help save the cause, a young patriot officer, Nathan Hale of Connecticut, offered to secure some much needed information as to Howe's movements.

Disguised as a schoolmaster, Hale entered the British lines. He was caught, and in accordance with military law was hanged as a spy. As Hale stood with the rope about

his neck, he was abused and taunted by brutal officials, such as sometimes exist in most armies. He answered his tormentors with the noble words: "My only regret is that I have but one life to give for my country."

Hale's loyal words and gallant death did much to renew the shaken courage of our people. Four years later a British spy, Major Andre, was executed under similar circumstances. But our soldiers around him did all they could to ease his final moments; and Britain raised as much lamentation over him and protest, as if her generals had never hanged a spy.

Mrs. Murray Delays the British Officers in New York

22. DEFEAT FOLLOWED UPON DEFEAT

Disaster continued. Washington held back the British advance from New York in the battles of Harlem Heights (September 16) and White Plains (October 28); but Fort Washington and then Fort Lee, the earthworks which guarded the Hudson on either side, were both captured by the British (November 16 and 20).

Our great leader was hampered by treachery. Fort Washington had been betrayed; and his second in command, the General Charles Lee after whom Fort Lee had been

named, plotted against him. Lee, a former British soldier and no connection of the famous Virginia Lees, tried to hinder Washington's plans, in the hope of succeeding to his place.

Finally, Washington with half his army lost, was driven to a hurried retreat across New Jersey toward Philadelphia. Often, as his weary troops left one end of a town, the eager British pursuers were entering the other. At length, Washington reached the Delaware River. Here, by seizing all the boats for many miles, he prevented the British from following him across. For the moment he was safe; but scarce three thousand exhausted and defeated troops still clung to him.

Washington discussed with his officers the probability of their having to retreat across the Allegheny Mountains and defend themselves in the Ohio wilderness. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The American cause seemed lost indeed.

23. HESSIAN BRUTALITY ROUSED A NEW FLAME OF RESISTANCE

Two things saved America in this moment of extremity. The first, and we must not underrate its importance, was the savage conduct of the invading army. War is always hideous; but it sinks only to its deepest brutality when a helpless land lies in the hands of ignorant invaders who cannot even talk the language of their victims.

Had the hired Hessians been kept in restraint during the British occupation of New Jersey, that State might never have been recovered to the patriot cause. When Washington fled across Jersey, the country folk, cowed and bewildered, sought to secure their own safety by crowding humbly to the British camp. Insult and outrage soon re-aroused them.

Fierce, reckless little uprisings began to flare up all over the State. The British troops found themselves definitely in an enemy country. New Jersey's hatred against England grew hotter than ever that of Massachusetts had been.

24. CONGRESS AND OUR ARMY REMAINED FIRM IN DISASTER WASHINGTON WAS MADE DICTATOR AND SAVED OUR NATION

The other and greater bulwark of the American cause lay in the splendid courage of Congress and our soldiers at this time of strain. Instead of weakening, the Congress voted that no yielding, no agreement with England, was

The Dread "Prison-hulk" in New York Harbor

longer possible. Then the members voted to give Washington such powers as made him almost a dictator.

His soldiers stood by him with equal loyalty. The prisons of New York, and especially the "hulks" or prison ships in the harbor, were crowded with our captured soldiers. Under the poorly managed prison system of that day, these unfortunates died of disease by hundreds. Hanging would have been an easier fate. Yet the mass of the suffering

patriots refused all offers to join the British. They died for their country, where dying was hardest and least glorious.

With what remained to him of such troops as these, Washington turned suddenly on the triumphant British. In a campaign of less than three weeks, he drove them wholly out of Jersey. Indeed this is often called "the seven days' campaign," as its chief moves were all made in a single week. Frederick the Great of Prussia, the most celebrated general of the age, studied carefully this amazing campaign of Washington and declared that it had never been surpassed in military brilliance.

25. HE CROSSED THE DELAWARE AND RECAPTURED TRENTON

The British troops who had followed Washington were commanded by General Cornwallis. Finding himself unable to cross the Delaware, Cornwallis spread his troops in comfortable winter quarters in New Jersey, while he prepared for the final advance on Philadelphia. One of the Hessian generals complained of the unsafe position of the scattered troops. He was told by the over-confident English that New Jersey could now be safely held by a dozen soldiers under a corporal.

Washington did not think so. On Christmas night of 1776 with over two thousand picked men, he made his famous passage of the Delaware. It was a night of terrible winter storm. Three divisions of our troops had been ordered to cross the river, but only the body under Washington himself persisted.

Crossing through masses of floating ice, he suddenly attacked a force of Hessians encamped at Trenton (December 26). They were utterly unprepared, deep in a Christmas carouse, and attempted only a brief resistance. Nearly

Washington Crossing the Delaware
From the painting by Emanuel Leutze at the Metropolitan Museum in New York

a thousand were made prisoners; and Washington withdrew again across the river, loaded with captured supplies.

26. THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON DROVE THE FOE FROM JERSEY

The astonished Cornwallis hastily regathered his scattered troops. Washington again crossed the river and appeared at Trenton. Overwhelming masses of the British were hurried forward to attack him, and the storm and cold made retreat across the Delaware impossible. "I have the old fox at last!" cried Cornwallis, and went to bed on New Year's, the first night of 1777, secure in that belief.

But all through the next day Washington held back the British attacks by such sturdy resistance that Cornwallis kept calling up more troops. Then, having drawn the main British army to Trenton, Washington slipped away in the night with all his soldiers. He left his campfires burning to deceive the foe. Morning found him at Princeton, over ten miles away, where he made a furious attack on Cornwallis' rearguard (January 3, 1777).

On this "Battle of Princeton" Washington risked everything. He led his men in person, and once more stood in such peril as when the Indians had made him their chief target in Braddock's disaster. Once more by the merciful wisdom of destiny, he escaped unhurt. The British were completely defeated. Cornwallis' stores were captured, and his lines of communication with New York were broken.

27. BRITAIN'S HUGE EFFORT OF 1776 FAILED TO CRUSH AMERICA

Washington had won for his army both food and ammunition. He withdrew to the heights of Morristown in central Jersey. From there he could attack any supply train that attempted to pass.

Thus Cornwallis, instead of advancing to the capture of Philadelphia, found himself faced with sudden starvation. He had to retreat toward New York for supplies. He might indeed have attempted a winter siege of his daring antagonist; but with the State now so bitter against him, this seemed too dangerous. Instead, he withdrew to the comfort of New York City, and abandoned New Jersey to the Americans.

The great armada of Admiral Howe thus failed in 1776, though only by the narrowest of margins, to break down the resistance of the Middle States.

28. IN 1777 A NATIONAL FLAG HELPED US TOWARD UNION

During this first struggle we had possessed no national flag of our own. The troops marched under their State flags. In 1775 Washington on his own authority used for the little ships he gathered to aid his troops at Boston, the Pine Tree Flag. This was white with a green pine in the center and the motto "An appeal to Heaven."

In December, 1775, Congress approved a flag which was to separate American-British merchant ships from British ships. This was not yet an independent flag. It retained the British double cross in its corner "union"; but it changed the solid red ground by running six white stripes across it, thus getting the seven red and six white stripes which still symbolize our thirteen original States.

Early in 1777 Congress chose for us our present flag. Betsy Ross, a young woman of Philadelphia, is said to have made, at Washington's request, a sample flag. The thirteen stripes were retained, but the British "union" in the corner was replaced by a circle of thirteen stars on a blue ground. The stars were symbols of our faith in heaven and our desire for that union of our continent which still

seemed far off and doubtful. The placing of the stars in a circle was never formally prescribed, the naval flag arranging them in rows from the beginning. Congress formally adopted the "Stars and Stripes" in a naval bill passed on "flag day," June 14, 1777.

The new flag won immediate approval and was soon everywhere in use. Like the Declaration of Independence it did much to draw the colonies toward union. All Americans felt a pride in this banner whose glory and whose defense belonged to all.

29. BURGOYNE STARTED FROM CANADA TO CAPTURE NEW YORK

In 1777, the third year of armed revolt, the king and Lord North resolved to make another vigorous effort to crush America. A powerful army was sent out to Canada. This was to march south by the old war route along Lake Champlain, and down the Hudson river to New York City. The advance was to end all resistance in New York, and separate the southern colonies from New England.

General Burgoyne commanded this Canadian army. The loyalists of northern New York lent him considerable aid, and all but one of the Iroquois Indian tribes joined him. He advanced triumphantly down Lake Champlain. He skilfully captured Ticonderoga and the other forts which had been counted on to bar his way. His success seemed as sure as that of Howe had seemed, after the battle of Long Island.

Again the staunch persistence of the colonists saved them. The ravages of Burgoyne's Indian allies roused the settlers to desperation. Resentment sprang specially from the death of a young lady, Jane McCrea, who was seized by the redmen and massacred. At first Burgoyne had found

The Death of Jane McCrea

From the painting by F. C. Yohn, copyright by the Glens Falls Ins. Co. of New York

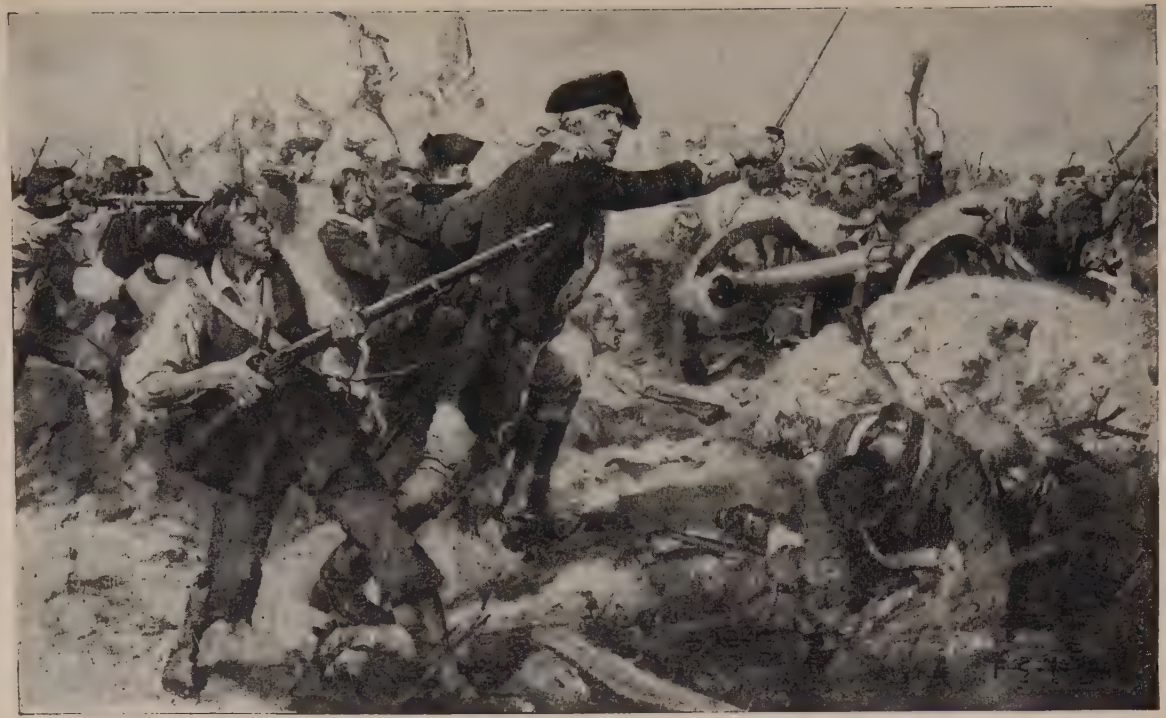
it easy to gather food for his troops; but resistance to his foraging parties became ever stronger. His lines of communication with Canada were broken. He had now to depend upon the country for supplies.

30. THE ADVANCE WAS BLOCKED BY SCHUYLER AND STARK

Two able opponents now blocked Burgoyne's path. One was General Stark, the veteran Indian fighter who had first led New Hampshire to Boston's aid, and who had been Washington's chief helper at Trenton and the "crossing of the Delaware." Stark headed the Green Mountain Boys and the New England militia in blocking the way of the British plunderers sent out for food. At Bennington (August 16), he completely crushed a force of over a thousand of these, his militia charging their embankments as boldly as the Britons had charged at Bunker Hill.

Burgoyne saw that foraging was no longer possible. With many miles of wilderness behind him he must reach the Hudson River, and join hands with Howe's forces in southern New York, or he would starve. His advance was now blocked by the New York and New England militia and a few of Washington's "Continentals." These forces were slowly gathered into an army by General Philip Schuyler, the leading man of Albany and northern New York, New York's chief general of the Revolution.

With brilliant skill and dogged persistence Schuyler delayed the enemy's advance. He saw as Burgoyne did, the shadow of starvation creeping upon the British. Huge trees were cut down across their path; streams were blocked and turned into bogs before them. Nature was made to fight our battle. It was September before the wearied Britishers reached the Hudson and crossed it near Saratoga. By this time their numbers were reduced to about six thousand,



General Stark Leading the Desperate Charge on the British Guns at Bennington

Painted by F. C. Yong, reproduced by courtesy of the Continental Insurance Co.

while perhaps twice that many ill-trained but resolute Americans now blocked their way.

31. THE BRITISH AND IROQUOIS WERE DEFEATED AT ORISKANY

Another severe defeat also hampered Burgoyne. A column had set out from Canada to join him by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river. This was to cross the Iroquois country and gather all these dreaded redmen to his aid. After accomplishing almost all its purpose, this terrible column of Iroquois, Loyalists and British regulars was met at Oriskany (Ō-rĭs′-kă-nē) by about a thousand of the New York militia of the Mohawk valley. These were settlers, mostly of German origin, under their own local leader, General Herkimer.

Never was a bloodier battle fought than Oriskany (August 6). It began with an ambush into which our militia were entrapped. Instead of fleeing, they fought desperately in Indian fashion. Herkimer was mortally wounded, but he continued to direct the fight and smoke his pipe as he lay dying behind the shelter of a tree. More than half our men fell; but of the Iroquois, who led the British attack, so many were slain that they thought they had been betrayed. Their allies had promised them an easy victory.

Oriskany broke the strength of the Iroquois nation. The despairing survivors abandoned the fight and deserted the expedition. The Britons, fearing the Indians would turn against them in revenge, fled back through the woods to Canada. Burgoyne, defeated now on both flanks, had only his central column left.

32. BURGOYNE WAS DEFEATED AND CAPTURED AT SARATOGA

At this moment Congress, not at all understanding the success of Schuyler's shrewd tactics of starving Burgoyne's

army, interfered and removed him from command. In his place, they set an Englishman, General Gates. This officer had been trained to war in Europe before settling in America; and his boastful talk gave our people a large idea of his powers. The New Englanders in Congress accepted him as their favorite general. In truth he was drunkenly incompetent; but so well had Schuyler's work been done, that Gates could not undo it.

Burgoyne attacked the American lines in the "first battle of Saratoga" (September 19), and was beaten back after fierce fighting at Frazier's farm. After this repulse Burgoyne felt himself helpless unless Howe sent an army up the Hudson from New York City to aid him. He waited three weeks and no army came. In desperation he tried to force his way through the Americans in the "second battle of Saratoga" (October 7). Again he was repulsed. The Virginia riflemen under Daniel Morgan here gained special fame; and the fiery Benedict Arnold was the hero of both battles.

On October 17th, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered his starving troops to General Gates. Such an event as this, the surrender of an entire British army, had never occurred before anywhere in the world. The greatness of the triumph brought to our people a sense of awe, of direct aid from Heaven. Warfare in the vast wilderness had brought about new conditions, and new consequences.

33. WASHINGTON LOST PHILADELPHIA BUT AIDED BURGOYNE'S CAPTURE

We must pause to view the campaign by which Washington had prevented Howe from sending to Burgoyne the assisting army which might have saved him. Burgoyne's success had seemed to Britain so assured, that Howe had

been authorized to use his New York forces in another attack on Philadelphia. Washington skilfully held him back from an advance across New Jersey; and at length Howe put his troops aboard his ships, and sailed around to the head of Chesapeake Bay. He hoped to capture Philadelphia by an attack from its southern side.

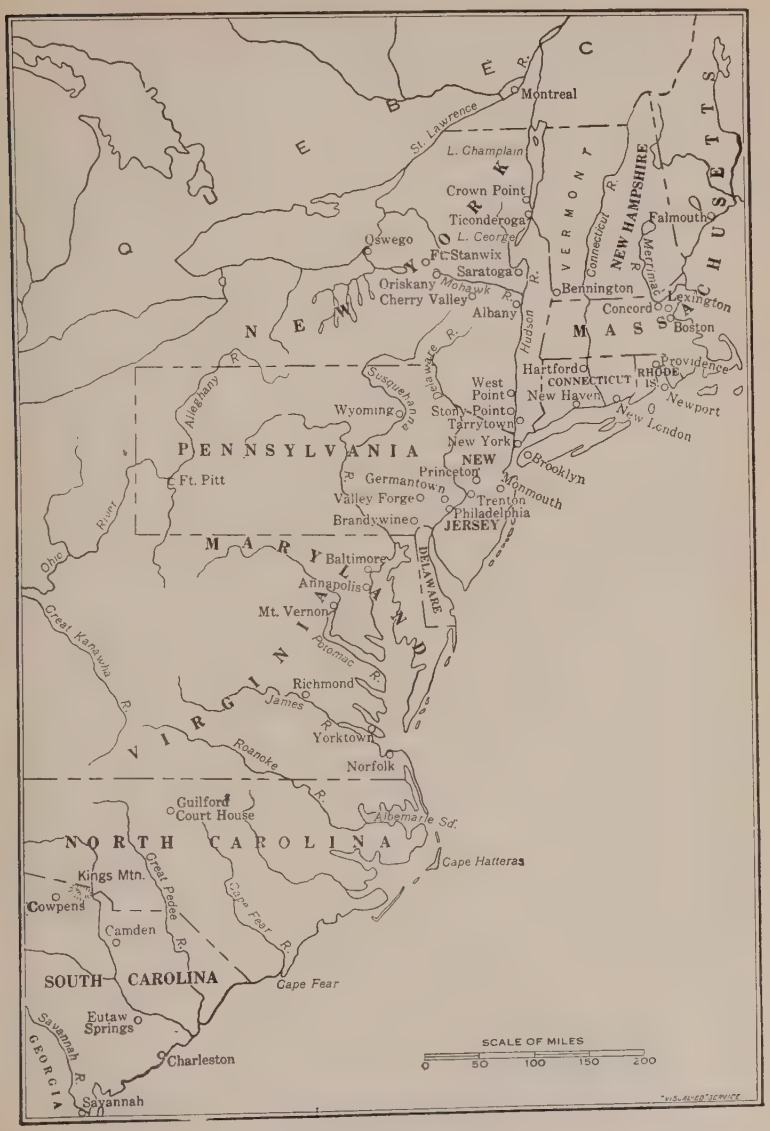
In this he was successful. Washington risked a battle at Brandywine Creek below Philadelphia, but was driven back (September 11, 1777). The British entered Philadelphia in triumph (September 26). Washington then made a well-planned and almost successful attack upon their encamped troops around the village of Germantown (October 4). He was again driven off; but his long resistance had stopped Howe from sending help to Burgoyne.

This was sent now, but too late. Burgoyne had already surrendered. The rescuing army marched up from New York City and burned some defenseless towns along the Hudson. It then marched back again to safety under the shelter of the British ships.

34. FRANCE MADE AN ALLIANCE WITH THE COLONIES

The capture of Philadelphia, though it had formerly been the rebel capital, made little impression in Europe as compared with the astounding news of Burgoyne's surrender. Even King George had a flash of common sense, and wrote to Lord North that they might have to abandon the rebel colonies. To do this would, however, have meant the surrender of all the king's struggle to dominate England itself. His life-long effort at autocratic kingship would be defeated by the English Whigs.

While he hesitated, there followed an American success of a different kind. For a year Benjamin Franklin had been our envoy in France, trying to persuade that countr-



The Battle-fields of the Revolution

to lend us aid against Britain. Franklin had become famous throughout France as the "rustic sage," and he was a favorite at the gay French Court. Nevertheless, all his influence had failed to win France to a new war against her ancient foe.

The victory at Saratoga changed the whole European viewpoint. If the Americans could actually capture British armies, they were allies well worth having. France was eager indeed for any British war that promised success. On February 6, 1778, she entered an alliance with the "United States of America," the allies agreeing to wage mutual war against Britain.

35. BRITAIN OFFERED US EVERYTHING BUT INDEPENDENCE AMERICA CHOSE MISERY FOR INDEPENDENCE SAKE

When news of this alliance reached England, the strength of the king's obstinacy was at last broken. He authorized Lord North to prepare in Parliament a hurried surrender of every disputed point. Commissioners were dispatched to America to offer the colonies everything they had ever demanded. They could have freedom from taxes, representation in Parliament, everything, if only they would return to their allegiance.

News of the British offer reached Congress before that of the French alliance; but even in that dark winter that followed Philadelphia's loss, Congress positively refused to rejoin Britain. There is a tale of a sturdy Pennsylvanian, General Reed, who was offered a large sum to use his influence in Congress to aid Britain's cause. Those were days when bribes were widely used and plainly offered; but Reed answered simply, "I am not worth purchasing. But such as I am, the King of Great Britain with all his wealth is not rich enough to buy me."

Franklin at the French Court

From a contemporary picture showing King Louis XVI approving while the ladies of his court crown Franklin with a wreath of honor

America could no longer accept the soothing offers of the mother-land. Britain's ships and soldiers and her Indian allies had too savagely injured our people. The old affection was wholly gone, and a bitter resentment had replaced it. America would accept nothing short of the Independence she had proclaimed.

For Independence we would fight until the end.

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Preparing the Declaration of Independence

Jefferson, in his lodgings, offers the manuscript for the changes of Franklin and John Adams

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

FRENCH AID AND AMERICAN VICTORY

A story of Endurance which outlasted Desolation

(1778–1783)

I. IN 1778 THE WAR BECAME WORLDWIDE

After the French alliance, our war changed markedly in its character. Twice in the earlier years King George had put forth his utmost effort to crush us, and had failed. During those solitary and desperate days, our chief ally had been Nature. Britain had been hampered by our distance, by the difficulty of getting troops across the ocean, and by the new problems of fighting in a wilderness.

Now Britain was drawn into a great European war. The French attack was joined by Spain and afterward by Holland. Thus these two latter countries became in a sense our allies; and Holland as well as France loaned us money to carry on our struggle. Ireland also began a revolt against Britain, similar to our own, except that Ireland had no ocean to shelter her from Britain's might.

As the war spread, Britain's haughty treatment of other nations' ships at sea angered all Europe, and several other nations combined against her in an "armed neutrality." With almost all the world thus at defiance, the old motherland fought a splendid fight against the ring of her foes.

She could, however, spare little energy for America. Her war here was entrusted mainly to the ships and soldiers she

had already sent. The struggle became for us dreary and enfeebling, rather than sharp and overwhelming. Our main failures in these later years sprang from our own exhaustion and our feeble government.

2. BRITAIN SOUGHT TO RUIN RATHER THAN CONQUER US

Britain's change of attitude toward us was also marked. We were more feared, and much less admired. The sympathy for us which so many Britons had before expressed, disappeared almost wholly. We were allied to France, the national foe; so the Britons fought against us as against foreigners.

Perhaps they fought us with an added touch of bitterness because we had rejected them. This was not logical, in view of all we had suffered before breaking with them; but it was human. During the rest of the war there was little effort at conquering the colonies, but only at ravaging them. It was a cruel warfare. It made impossible for generations afterward any renewal of the old brotherhood with Britain.

Fleets burned our towns along the sea. Indians and Tories united to raid our huts along the frontier. The mothers of America were thus dragged into the struggle, and proved repeatedly that women equally with men had learned here an added strength of self-reliance.

3. OUR "CONTINENTAL" MONEY BECAME ALMOST WORTHLESS

The opening of 1778 saw our army in its deepest misery. The main cause of this was lack of money. Congress had never had any way of getting money for itself. When it asked the different States for funds, some gave and some did not. As the years passed and the States needed more and more money for themselves, their gifts to Congress

became still smaller. Congress was driven to issue more "paper" money, empty promises to pay, if it ever could.

These paper promises or "notes" were called "continental" money; and patriotic folk were at first proud of them as something issued by all the united States. But as the Congressional debt grew larger and the prospect of actual money for Congress grew smaller, these notes rapidly lost value. Soon Congress itself could buy nothing with them, except by offering them at less than half what they promised to repay. Yet, having no other funds to spend, Congress kept pouring forth these notes in ever-increasing quantities.

Finally everybody lost faith in the chance that Congress would or could ever repay such large sums. Men of little patriotism speculated with these notes, counting surely on their constant fall in value. Thus profiteers grew rich, while patriots grew poor. So worthless did the continental money become that $2,000 of it was needed to buy a suit of clothes. If folk wanted to emphasize that something had no value whatever, they said it was "not worth a continental."

4. OUR SOLDIERS SUFFERED TERRIBLY AT VALLEY FORGE

This lack of money made it impossible to secure supplies for the army. Howe settled the British troops comfortably in Philadelphia for the winter of 1777-1778, and made the dignified Quaker city gay indeed. Many townfolk welcomed his officers, and there were entertainments beyond number. Washington, with his army defeated, ragged and almost starving, encamped for the winter at Valley Forge, a few miles outside the city.

The weather was unusually severe, and the poorly sheltered Continentals were close to perishing from cold

and hunger. The British in Philadelphia paid well for food from the nearby farms, and got most of it. The year before, Washington had won ample supplies by his victories at Trenton and Princeton; no such opportunity offered now.

Washington almost despaired. Going apart from his men in secret, he prayed God to guide him. He wrote vehement letters to Congress. He described vividly the distresses of his men, and their heroic endurance. They were only half-clothed and often shoeless. They wrapped their feet in rags, but even so, left bloody prints as they marched along the frozen roads.

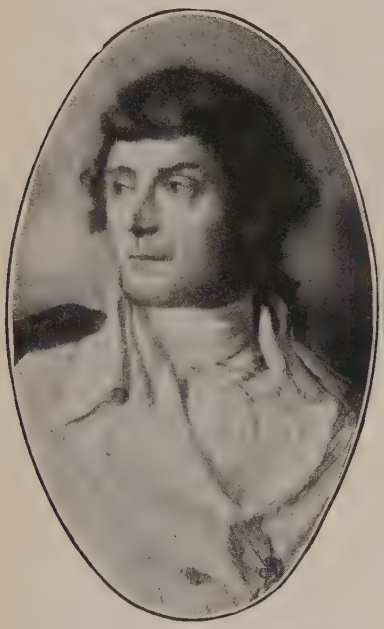
Valley Forge marks the deepest shadow of our soldiers' suffering and the government's weakness and incompetence. Washington raised money for the army from his own estate and continued doing this, until by the end of the war Congress owed him $90,000. He compelled the surrounding countryfolk to bring him food, though they were often in serious need themselves.

5. EUROPEAN OFFICERS CAME TO AID US

This was the last winter of such intense suffering among our men. When France became our ally, she loaned Congress the money for our armies. European soldiers of note came to aid us. These included the Polish generals, Pulaski, who was killed in battle at Savannah, and the famous Kosciusko (kŏs choosh′ kō) who afterward led his own nation in a similar war for freedom.

From Prussia came one of Frederick the Great's best drill masters, General Von Steuben. He trained our Continentals at Valley Forge, until their skill and discipline matched that of the British regulars. Von Steuben continued throughout the war to be one of our most valued leaders. He was the chief founder of our army's discipline.

From France came the Marquis of Lafayette, the first of his countrymen to fight for our freedom. This ardent young hero did not wait for his country to join us. After listening to Franklin's plea for manhood and justice, he fitted out a ship of his own and joined our forces during the ill-starred Philadelphia campaign. Washington made him



General Thaddeus Kosciusko

General Baron Von Steuben

his chief aide at Valley Forge, and a lasting friendship sprang up between these two noble hearts.

Lafayette, like Kosciusko, was afterward to be a leader of revolution in his own land. Thus did the influence of America's freedom react on Europe.

6. THE LAST NORTHERN BATTLE WAS FOUGHT AT MONMOUTH

In the spring of 1778, Howe was displaced by a less chivalrous leader, General Clinton. Adopting the new British policy of delay and destruction, Clinton abandoned Philadelphia to gather all his troops around New York. This became the headquarters for his raids.

Washington once more followed the British as they marched back across New Jersey. He hoped to make another capture of their stores, and attacked them at Monmouth (June 28). The assault failed owing to the treachery of Charles Lee, the same general who had failed Washington before in the disastrous New York campaign.

Lee's reputation as a European soldier had led Congress to rely on him as it did on Gates. Lee and Gates each in turn tried to crowd out Washington and secure his place of command. Finding him too surely seated in the faith of all his countrymen, Lee now turned to absolute treachery, and planned to betray our forces to the British. This was not positively known until one of his letters was discovered many years later.

7. A BRAVE WOMAN WON HONOR; A TRAITOR WAS SHAMED

Two well remembered scenes marked this battle of Monmouth. When victory seemed won, Lee ordered a needless retreat. Washington, hurrying forward in magnificent anger, berated Lee savagely for this wicked sacrifice of the cause and of men's lives. He rallied Lee's troops and saved the battle; but Clinton got his stores safely back into New York. Lee was driven from the army in disgrace.

The other vivid incident was the fighting of Mary McCauley, better known as Molly Pitcher. She was the wife

Molly Pitcher at Monmouth
From the mural painting by C. Y. Turner

of one of Washington's artillery men, and was carrying drinking water to her husband and his mates in the heat of the battle. Her husband was shot dead beside his cannon; and, as no one else knew how to handle it, the men were about to drag it off. Molly grimly declared that she could manage the cannon; and she did. She continued loading and firing all through the battle.

Washington made her a sergeant, and she was afterward pensioned as a lieutenant of the Continental army. She was its only woman officer.

8. FRENCH AND AMERICANS DISAGREED AT NEWPORT

There were no more large battles in the north after Monmouth. Britain kept her troops close to their ships. There was however one other notable military effort in 1778. A powerful French war fleet reached America in July. It carried French soldiers also; and a joint expedition was planned in which the French forces and ours were to capture a strong British army which held Newport in Rhode Island.

The Americans under General Sullivan did their part well. The French fleet had a brush with a smaller British fleet, from which each side drew off because of a storm. The French admiral then decided to abandon the siege so as to repair his ships. The Americans, left unsupported, had to withdraw in haste. They openly accused their allies of deserting them, and challenges to duels passed between officers of either nation.

Much ill-feeling was caused. Indeed the nominal allies disagreed so sharply as individuals that they worked very poorly together. Lafayette and the other French volunteers were with us heart and soul; they gave all their strength to the cause of freedom. But the French professional sol-

HOW COLONEL CLARK TOOK KASKASKIA

Courtesy of Continental Ins. Co.

COLONEL CLARK SURPRISES KASKASKIA

In the famous expedition by which George Rogers Clark won for us the old Northwest, he took the French settlers of the region wholly by surprise. Clark secretly secured from Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, a colonel's commission, and secretly recruited an expedition to stop the British from sending Indian scalping parties against the Americans. The only white folk then in the Mississippi valley were the French settlers who had recently come under British rule. Their chief settlement along the upper Mississippi was at Kaskaskia in the present State of Illinois.

Clark surprised the British soldiers at Kaskaskia and captured the post without a blow. He quietly placed his men so as to control the town, and then walked in upon a town-dance and politely told the merry-makers that the region was now under the control of the United States of America. After learning who and what this new power was the Frenchmen readily accepted the change. Many of them aided Clark in the rest of his campaign.

diers were partly hired troops like the Hessians. They never joined the Americans successfully, in any large united operation, until that last one at Yorktown which was to close the war. Even there, it took all the strength and wisdom of Washington to hold his mixed forces together.

9. BRITAIN ROUSED THE INDIANS TO MASSACRE THE CHEROKEES AND IROQUOIS WERE CRUSHED

Back in the depths of our forests, 1778 was a tragic and important year. As early as 1776 the Cherokee Indians in the south had been roused by the British to attack our frontier. The sturdy woodsmen of the Carolinas crushed the Cherokees in repeated conflicts.

To the west of Virginia, however, in the newly opened Kentucky and Ohio regions, the few settlers suffered so many Indian assaults that the district was almost wholly abandoned. Only Daniel Boone's fort at Boonesborough held back the repeated and deadly attacks.

Farther north, after Burgoyne's surrender, the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania were exposed to all the furious vengeance of the defeated Iroquois. Two massacres here stand out among the others, because they were carried through by tories as well as Indians. These were at Wyoming in Pennsylvania and Cherry Valley in New York. Both of these once happy family settlements were destroyed, and their women and children slain.

In 1779 a Continental army under General Sullivan was sent to punish the Iroquois. Sullivan easily defeated them at Elmira, and then swept their land from end to end, destroying its villages and crops, and crushing the power of the Iroquois forever. The empty region which had been their empire was added to New York State.

10. CLARK'S DARING EXPEDITION WON THE WHOLE OHIO VALLEY

Another exploit of 1778 did more than even the crushing of the Iroquois, in bringing to us the future mastery of the Indian lands along our border. This was the daring expedition of George Rogers Clark. He was a gallant young frontiersman from Virginia who had been a leader in the Kentucky fighting. Now, Clark planned to stop the Indian raids by attacking their source. This was the line of British forts, which had once been French, along the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Kentucky was then a county of Virginia, so Clark secured a colonel's commission from Virginia's governor, Patrick Henry, and set out with two hundred frontiersmen. They crossed the untracked wilderness of Illinois, and surprised and captured the British garrisons of those old French settlements, Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The French along the Mississippi heard with joy of the alliance between France and America; and led by their pastor Father Gibault, they supported Clark.

The British in Canada were roused to their danger. Their chief officer in the interior, Governor Hamilton, was already known to all our colonies as the "hairbuyer," because he paid the Indians for American scalps. The hair-buyer now raised a fully equipped force of five hundred men, with cannon, and marched to recapture what Clark had taken. Hamilton easily seized possession of the nearer French forts, and at Vincennes in Indiana he rested for the winter. He meant to push on to Illinois in the spring, capture Clark and punish the French.

Clark did not wait. He gathered what was left of his original force, recruited it from the French, and made the most amazing of all winter marches across lands flooded

with icy waters. Through these his men waded or swam, without provisions, freezing, starving, drowning, till the survivors reached Vincennes. They let their coming be known, and the terror of it drove Hamilton's Indian allies to flight. The French also slipped away from him; and he and his Britishers were defeated and captured (February 1779). This gave all the inner wilderness to the Americans; and Clark held it to the end of the war.

Weapons and Tools Owned by George Rogers Clark

II. "MAD ANTHONY" WAYNE STORMED STONY POINT

From 1778 onward the British repeatedly attacked our coast towns, plundering and burning. They were boldly met and sometimes driven off with loss. Twice also General Clinton advanced in force from New York, only to be promptly met and driven back by the ever watchful Washington. There were, however, no further large military movements in the north.

One brilliant incident was the storming of Stony Point on the Hudson (July 16, 1779). General Anthony Wayne, beloved by his men as "Mad Anthony," crept with a few hundred men close to the fort. Their muskets were unloaded, lest one should go off by chance. Wayne with twenty men as a "forlorn hope" then rushed upon one entrance to the fort, while a similar group charged from the other side.

Seventeen of Wayne's twenty fell, and he himself was wounded; but they held the way open until their comrades got through and carried the fort at the point of the bayonet. This was regarded as the most dashing exploit of the war.

12. OUR INFANT NAVY SHATTERED BRITISH TRADE

Some retaliation for the ravages of the British fleet was inflicted by our infant navy. When the war opened several of the States, acting as independent little nations, commissioned their seamen to attack the enemy. Over a thousand of our former trading ships were thus sent out. These were too lightly built and poorly armed to meet the British ships of war; but they were daringly successful in their raid on British commerce.

They captured so many merchant ships that the direct loss which Britain thus suffered during the war was reckoned at eighteen million dollars. The further loss through the breaking up of Britain's trade and the smashing of her "mastery of the seas" amounted to a far greater sum. In fact there were as many Americans fighting on sea as on land; and the ruin thus inflicted on Britain's trade was one main cause why she finally abandoned the war. Her merchants would endure the strain no longer.

Our national warfare on the seas began when Washing-

ton gathered six little ships at Boston in 1775. One of these, the Lee, fought and captured a British ship loaded with ammunition. Congress then formally created a "Continental" navy. Several ships were bought or built, and Captain Esek Hopkins was made commander of our earliest fleet.

With eight small ships Hopkins captured a British port in the West Indies. His fleet also captured some British troop transports. The British warships were, however, far too many for the Continental ships; and before the end of the war most of these had been driven into different ports and there abandoned or captured.

13. CAPTAIN JONES RAIDED THE ENGLISH COAST

Most famed among the captains of this first tiny Continental navy was John Paul Jones. In 1778 he carried our flag to Britain itself, raiding her coast and capturing towns and ships as the British did here, but without the burning and killing that accompanied the British raids.

Britain was astonished at his success and daring. She had called Washington a traitor, so now she called Jones a pirate. When she plundered our towns, she regarded the deed as one of glory; when we responded by plundering hers, it was theft and piracy. Jones in his little war-sloop, the Ranger, defeated a British warship stronger than his own, and brought his prize to France. He was received there with high honor.

In 1779 Jones secured in France a much bigger, though old and battered ship. He named her the Bonhomme Richard, which was the French nickname of affection given Franklin for his book Poor Richard's Almanac. Jones was also supplied, by French aid, with four other ships. At the head of this little fleet he, for the second time, raided the

British coast. He captured many prizes, and caused as much terror as anger everywhere in Britain.

14. JONES CAPTURED A BRITISH FRIGATE IN EQUAL FIGHT

In the North Sea, Jones met a British merchant fleet and at once attacked the warships which protected it. The chief of these, the Serapis, fought a desperate sea duel with the Bonhomme Richard (September 23, 1779). Jones' ship and guns were much inferior to those of the foe, so he lashed the two ships together and fought the battle hand to hand. When the Serapis first crashed against his already shattered ship, her captain shouted to ask if Jones surrendered. "I have not yet begun to fight," responded the unconquerable hero.

After two more hours of tremendous struggle, the Britons could resist no more. Scarce one of them was left unwounded; and they surrendered. The Bonhomme Richard was so battered that she sank soon afterward; but Jones, having taken possession of the Serapis, brought her and some smaller captured ships safely to a port in Holland.

Britain recognized the heroic fight of the Serapis by making her wounded captain a Baronet. "He deserves it," said Jones. "And if I meet him again, I'll make a Lord of him." It would be hard to imagine a more glorious opening for the proud records of our navy.

15. BRITAIN ATTACKED THE SOUTH; ITS CAPITALS FELL

While Jones thus carried the war to England, the warfare in America shifted to the southern States. These had been left at peace since 1776, except for Indian raids. On December 29, 1778, a British fleet suddenly attacked and captured Savannah, and in a few weeks the Britons had overrun all Georgia.

Paul Jones Raised the First American Flag in the Navy on His Ship Ranger before Raiding the British Coast. The Ceremony Took Place at the Philadelphia Wharves. A Salute Was Fired and the Ladies of the City Were Invited to a "Collation" on Shipboard

Painted by Clyde O. DeLand, reproduced by courtesy of the Continental Fire Ins. Co.

Washington sent some of his best troops to aid the South. These were joined the next autumn by the French fleet in an effort to retake Savannah. Our troops made a bold night attack, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Then disagreements arose with our French allies, and again their fleet departed.

The British next attacked South Carolina. A strong fleet and army besieged Charleston for three months and finally compelled the surrender of the city. With it were captured not only the Carolina militia but Washington's "Continentals," over two thousand veteran troops, (May 12, 1780). This was the only Continental army in the South, which was thus left with no defense but that of its own scattered and exhausted militia.

16. BRITONS HANGED OR MASSACRED SOUTHERN PATRIOTS

The whole of South Carolina was soon overrun as Georgia had been. The two states were so completely held, that the British declared that they would hang as a rebel anyone who attempted resistance. In fact, they did hang at least fifty patriots, and probably many more. The hanging of fifty was officially known to our leaders.

Washington's former opponent, Cornwallis, had command in the South during these savage days. He was aided by an able but savage cavalry leader, Colonel Tarleton, who became the horror of the Carolinas.

Washington, tireless in disaster, sent a small body of regular troops to form the beginning of a new southern army. They were suddenly surrounded by Tarleton with overwhelming numbers. They surrendered and cried for "quarter;" but Tarleton ordered his horsemen to keep charging and slashing till all the Americans were slain. After this hideous affair, the patriots knew they must fight

IN MARION'S CAMP

Courtesy of Continental Ins. Co.

HOW GENERAL FRANCIS MARION MADE WAR

"Our band is few but true and tried,
Our leader frank and bold.
The British warrior trembles
When Marion's name is told."

So ran the old song of "Marion's Men." Men they were indeed, to prefer the dark and dangerous swamps rather than yield to British commands. Little bands like this kept the War for Independence alive in those dark days of 1780 when the British had completely overthrown our regular army in the South.

The British in angry consternation called Marion "the swamp fox" finding his lair as difficult and dangerous of approach as that of any fox of the swamps. Our text tells of the particular visit in which a British aide was led blindfold to Marion's camp. This is the subject of our picture.

or die. "Tarleton's quarter," meaning massacre, became the cry which nerved the South to unending battle.

17. HIDDEN BANDS CONTINUED TO RESIST IN THE FAR SOUTH

Thus South Carolina and Georgia were never wholly conquered. Their patriots were driven to hiding in the swamps; but from these depths they kept dauntless watch, and made sudden daring attacks on the British.

In Georgia the chief leader of these hidden forces was Elijah Clarke. In South Carolina they were commanded by General Francis Marion, Colonel Thomas Sumter and others. A British envoy, sent to treat with Marion, was led blindfolded to his hiding place and found him dining with his men on nothing but potatoes roasted in their campfire. The envoy reported to Cornwallis that there was no possible way to conquer men who were so determined upon resistance that they would endure such a life.

From Virginia dashing cavalry troops rode southward, led by "Light Horse Harry" Lee, Colonel William Washington and others. Their exploits outdid those of Tarleton in boldness, though they scorned to copy his brutality. In the latter half of 1780, suddenly appearing forces of the patriots fought some thirty little battles against British outposts on South Carolina's supposedly conquered soil.

18. GATES BROUGHT BOTH CAROLINAS TO FRESH DISASTER

Washington now made a further effort to save South Carolina. He sent there another little army of his devoted Continentals. But Congress, against Washington's protest sent its old favorite, General Gates, to take independent command of the South.

Gates led this last feeble remnant of trained troops

to a blundering defeat at Camden (August 16, 1780). He himself fled from the field on horseback with such speed that he left his army behind him, and in three days reached a point almost two hundred miles away. That ended his extraordinary military career. His boastful inability had done our cause more harm than Charles Lee's secret treachery.

Again South Carolina was left to her own resources; and now North Carolina was also invaded. Many loyalists flocked to aid the seemingly irresistible British. The desperate patriots had now to fight against their own countrymen; and this contest between brothers aroused a terrible bitterness upon each side. The Carolinas were torn and desolate indeed.

19. THE WOODSMEN TURNED THE TIDE OF SOUTHERN DEFEAT

An unexpected battle brought back the first flash of hope. A British officer, Major Ferguson, had been sent to reduce the western countries to the same slavery as the east. He did his work in the Tarleton fashion, so savagely that he aroused the frontiersmen from across the mountains. Under John Sevier and other leaders they marched east to punish him, and joined the local militia under Colonel Campbell. Ferguson was thus surrounded at King's Mountain on the border between the Carolinas.

King's Mountain (October 7, 1780) was the main frontier battle of the South. It was fought by shrewd huntsmen who studied how to meet the British regulars. Each side had over a thousand men. When Ferguson's troops charged with the bayonet, the hunters scattered, only to return and advance again with their deadly shooting. Fewer than thirty of them fell; and they killed Ferguson's men by hundreds, until the despairing remnant surrendered.

Once more Americans had shown the world's best soldiers something new in fighting. Again the Britons were taught that they could hold no part of America's soil beyond the reach of their ships and cannon.

The angry frontiersmen hanged several of the worst murderers among Ferguson's followers. General Cornwallis protested loudly. This seemed a very different matter from his hanging of captured Americans. Nevertheless he stopped hanging our men. It might prove too costly.

20. GREENE CHECKED CORNWALLIS IN AN AMAZING CAMPAIGN

Washington now sent to the South the ablest general of his own able staff. This was Nathanael Greene, the former Rhode Island Quaker. Greene stands second only to Washington himself among the soldiers of the Revolution. From hard experience Greene had learned to persist, to endure, to wait, and so to turn even defeat into victory. This was what was needed in Carolina.

Never was there a more amazing campaign. Greene's chief aide was General Morgan of Virginia, the former hero of Saratoga. Morgan had begun the war as a teamster and had risen by brilliant ability to his command. Now Morgan promptly defeated the terrible Tarleton, almost wiping out his forces at Cowpens (January 17, 1781).

Cornwallis, fiercely enraged, pursued the Americans with his entire force. They fled before him almost to Virginia. Yet no sooner did Cornwallis give over the pursuit in despair, than Greene turned and followed him. They fought at Guilford Court House (March 15) and again Greene drew off. Yet so exhausted and disorganized had the British become that Cornwallis withdrew all the way to the coast for fresh supplies. He rested his shattered troops at Wilmington under the shelter of his ships.

21. CAROLINA WAS RESCUED BY GREENE AND ITS PATRIOTS

Cornwallis now resolved on the bold plan of ignoring this foe that always fought and ran away. With fresh supplies and reinforcements from New York, he marched steadily northward, ravaging North Carolina and Virginia as he advanced. Greene let him go, and used his own forces to defeat all the strong garrisons Cornwallis had left behind.

These garrisons still far outnumbered Greene's raw troops; yet Greene captured post after post. Aided by Sumter and the other bold Southern leaders, he kept attacking until he had taken every one of the outlying forts and camps. Thus the year 1781 recovered most of what 1780 had lost. By the end of 1781 the British held only their seaport headquarters at Savannah, Charleston and Wilmington.

This campaign in the South is one of the most remarkable in history for its record of persistent opposition to a superior force, and for the way its repeated repulses were made to yield the fruit of victory. Ignorant folk are fond of boasting that we could resist invasion as successfully today; but they forget that our people are no longer hardy huntsmen, like their ancestors. They forget also the terrible sufferings the South endured before rescue came

22. GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD BECAME A TRAITOR

We approach the great climax of this long drama of America's resolute resistance. Yet for a moment we must pause to note the days of deepest darkness which foreshadowed the dawn. As the autumn of 1780 closed in, Greene had not yet taken command in the South, and all there seemed wholly lost. Then came the treason of the brilliant General Benedict Arnold to cast a gloom over the North.

Arnold was spurred on by a personal quarrel with Congress. He felt himself insulted; and to revenge himself, he betrayed Washington who trusted him, and his country which loved and admired him. He had married a tory wife, a noted Philadelphia beauty, and she encouraged his treason. He endeavored to hand over to the British the strong fortress of West Point; but Major André, the British officer who dealt with him, was captured and the plot discovered.

Capture of Major André

Three New York volunteers found André's treasonable papers hidden in his boot and refused all offers of money to release him

The official report of André's capture was brought to Arnold as the general in command, and he at once fled from his post. André was, by military law, hanged as a spy; but Arnold escaped to a British ship. His new friends made him a general, but could not restore his honor.

Arnold afterward commanded British expeditions which further plundered his country, including the New England coast where he was born. The American scorn of him increased, and honest Britons despised him too. When he died twenty years later, he had lost all trace of his former fame. Tradition tells that at his death he sadly reclothed

himself in his worn, old Continental uniform, saying that though he had dishonored it, he could at least die in it.

His was a brilliant spirit led astray by vanity, a tragic warning to every young person who clamors for admiration and sulks when misunderstood.

23. OUR TROOPS MUTINIED BUT REMAINED PATRIOTS

The winter of 1780-81 was the most severe the country had known for generations. Again our money affairs had become so bad that Congress could not raise supplies for the soldiers. It seemed as if our army must fall apart at last. In this desperate extreme, the noble patriot banker, Robert Morris of Philadelphia, came to our aid. By personal efforts he raised money where Congress had failed; and from then to the end of the war Morris alone enabled our army to continue in the field.

Second only to Morris in financing the Revolution was Haym Salomon, a Jewish banker of Philadelphia. His contributions and unsecured loans to members of the government, and finally to Morris himself, exceeded half a million dollars, an enormous sum for those days. Salomon, probably the richest man in America, died poor, as Morris did, because of his expenditures in our country's service.

In this last winter, before Morris could raise the needed money, some of our starving soldiers mutinied. Marching to where Congress sat, they demanded their pay. The British generals eagerly sent messengers to the mutineers, offering to pay them all and more than they asked, if they would join our foes. But though driven by their miseries to mutiny, the men were patriots. They handed their tempters over as spies. They refused even the usual reward for a spy's capture, declaring they only wanted justice.

Congress managed to raise funds to satisfy them; but un-

fortunately their success tempted other regiments to imitate their course. General disaster seemed at hand, for if our soldiers all marched against the helpless Congress, it could neither pay them nor resist the British. Washington checked this danger resolutely by seizing and executing two of the leaders of the second revolt. Quiet was restored, and the troops resumed their former heroic endurance.

24. CORNWALLIS WAS ENTRAPPED AT YORKTOWN

Now came the reward of all the long, hard years. We have seen that Cornwallis had marched north, hoping to reduce Virginia to the same exhaustion as the Carolinas. He was met by Lafayette, who managed, though with much smaller forces, to hold him in check. Cornwallis with Tarleton's aid did what he could to injure Virginia. He almost captured the entire State Legislature, which had to flee from his soldiers in desperate haste.

Its members were warned just in time by a local patriot, John Jouett. Jouett's ride is as noted in the South as that of Paul Revere in the North. At length Cornwallis, loaded with plunder and weary with marching, paused to rest at Yorktown on the Virginia shore of Chesapeake Bay.

Washington seized the opportunity for a final brilliant campaign. A large French fleet was on its way to America; and Washington, by threatening New York, convinced Clinton, who still commanded there, that he was to be attacked. Clinton therefore gathered his ships and troops around the city. Washington, while keeping a thin screen of troops to pretend to attack New York, suddenly marched all his main forces southward to attack Cornwallis.

The French fleet now appeared off Yorktown, not New York. Clinton never suspected the trap until it was too late. A small British fleet tried to stop the French by battle

(September 5), but was defeated and driven to flee to New York. Thus for a moment at least Britain lost control of the seas. A French squadron brought more troops from New England, and these made the voyage unmolested.

25. CORNWALLIS HAD TO SURRENDER HIS ENTIRE ARMY

Cornwallis with nearly eight thousand troops and a thousand seamen was now besieged in Yorktown. The able Washington had gathered there his own Continental army, the French from New England, the soldiers of the new French fleet and also the Virginia militia troops, who crowded eagerly to avenge the recent ravages of Cornwallis. Not until late in September did all the allies meet around Yorktown; but after that the siege proceeded rapidly.

French troops and Americans vied with each other in storming Cornwallis' outer defenses. He tried to break a way through their tightening lines, but was repelled. His every means of resistance was soon exhausted, and on October 19, 1781, he surrendered his entire army. Eight thousand men, including the sailors, were surrendered; and over five hundred had fallen in the siege.

Thus a second British army, even stronger than that of Burgoyne, had been overwhelmed by the union of French and Americans. Great was the joy throughout the country as the news sped from town to town. Everyone felt that the war was at an end. Not even British persistence could withstand the loss of a second army.

26. KING GEORGE LOST CONTROL HERE AND IN BRITAIN ALSO

King George still struggled against fate. He declared that he would never surrender America. But the defeat here had been too decisive for him. All his schemes for

dominating Parliament crumbled. He was the last British king who strove to bring back the old days and be the master of his people.

The control of Parliament was torn away from the king. Lord North fell from power, and a minister chosen from the Whigs made peace with us. Not because of King George but in defiance of him, Britain consented to our Independence.

All through the year 1782 the British were withdrawing from our coasts. They "evacuated" Wilmington in January, Savannah in July, and Charleston in December. Only New York, which had been their headquarters for seven years, remained in their hands.

The war in Europe was also brought to a close. The French admiral who had so helped us at Yorktown, met a British fleet equal to his own in the West Indies in 1782, and was badly defeated. If this had happened before, it must have hurt us sorely; now it only made France more ready to join in the peace which Britain and America desired

27. BRITAIN MADE A GENEROUS PEACE

Negotiations were slow in those days; but since the discussion of the diplomats had shown that agreement was possible, commissioners from all the warring countries met in Versailles in the summer of 1782. A preliminary peace treaty between Britain and America was prepared in November; and the final treaty, by which all parties to the war made peace at once, was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783.

In justice to the Britons, we must keep in mind that the new leaders of her Parliament declared from the first that they would make peace generously. They admitted they had

wronged us, and they tried to win back our friendship. Indeed they granted us much better terms than France and Spain approved.

France wanted us separated from Britain, so as to weaken Britain; but she had no wish to make us powerful. As for Spain, she had been unwilling to ally herself at all to a self-governing people. She distrusted all republics. Both Spain and France wanted the whole Mississippi valley for themselves, and would have taken it and drawn our western boundary at the Appalachian mountains. British generosity saved us from our allies, and gave us our first opportunity of expansion into the West.

28. OUR PEOPLE WERE LEFT TO CARVE THEIR OWN FUTURE

Our peace commissioners, Franklin, John Adams and John Jay, won this western territory for us by first making a secret treaty with England, the treaty of November, 1782. They then presented this to France as an agreement established and not to be reduced.

By the final treaty of 1783, Britain returned Florida to Spain, and confirmed her in possession of Louisiana, which France had granted her in secret twenty years before. The new United States, however, received all the region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. The northern half of this had been won and held by George Rogers Clark; but the southern half came to us by British diplomacy against our allies. Our territory was thus almost doubled at the start.

The last armed Britons left our shores with the evacuation of New York, November 25, 1783. With them went also the last of the tragic group of loyalists. There was no place for these in the new nation which they had rejected and attacked. Some sixty thousand of them at various

times had left the country; and Britain spent large sums in establishing them elsewhere.

As the last British troops marched out of New York, Washington and his Continentals marched in. The contrast between the well fed, well clothed Britons and the gaunt and tattered, but still steadfast, alert and self-reliant Americans was sharp indeed. A new people with new purposes replaced the old.

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The News of Yorktown

Through all the Revolution, Washington sent to his mother, by courier, reports of his operations. Her neighbors in Fredericksburg, Virginia, gathered eagerly to hear each dispatch

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

HOW OUR UNION WAS FORMED

The story of the Wise Compromise which turned Ruin into Triumph

(1783–1789)

I. THE REVOLUTION HAD ALMOST RUINED OUR PEOPLE

Never had a people begun their independent existence under conditions more disordered than those which the Americans faced in 1783. The Revolution had left behind it much disaster.

Britain had given up the fight, but we were still surrounded by a ring of angry Indians, ravaging our frontier. We owed debts beyond possibility of payment. Our shipping was half ruined; our manufactures wholly so. Through all the colonies the burning and plundering had brought much bitter poverty. War may be as costly to the winner as to the loser.

Our numbers, too, had lessened, and our standards of living were lower. War takes its main toll from the strongest and noblest of a nation, not from the weak and treacherous. Many of our people had perished; many had abandoned their hard-earned homesteads. In New York, which had suffered most, the ravages of the Iroquois on the frontier and of the British on the Hudson had reduced the populace to less than half of its former numbers.

The old organization of society had broken down; and no new one had yet been found under which a nation could

really thrive. Men like Washington were deeply alarmed over the decay of those sturdy virtues by which mankind advances. His letters ring with protest at the loss of honesty and industry and cooperation for the common good.

2. MEN WERE DISUNITED AND LOST RESPECT FOR LAW

Moreover, there was no firm bond to hold the thirteen States together, or even to hold each State united within its own boundaries. For years each tiny settlement had been compelled to take care of itself.

Many towns had thus perished; and, among those settlements which by better fortune had survived, many folk falsely imagined that their own strength had preserved them. *Self-reliance, which is strength, became exaggerated into vain-glory and self-admiration, which are fatal weaknesses.*

As our central government had proved unable to protect its people, they lost confidence in it, and began indeed to lose all respect for law. Thus a dangerous disregard for any higher authority spread through the country. We resembled a group of desperately warring little villages rather than a nation. It looked as if some strong European power would in the near future easily devour these separate regions, one by one.

3. OUR LAND SEEMED TOO VAST FOR A SINGLE STATE

A permanent union of all the States appeared impracticable. The welding of these thirteen unusually large, loosely governed communities into a still larger national body, which would have to be firmer than any of its parts, seemed quite hopeless. Our European allies in the war had seen, and suffered much from, our inability to act together, our lack of any central power.

Natural conditions also opposed any close union of so wide a territory. Those days knew no telegraphs, no railroads, no steamboats. The most rapid means of intercourse among men was still, as it had been thousands of years before, by horses. It took months for news to travel across the vast length of our land. Our usual means of communication was by ships, sailing on the ocean from one colony to another, as if to a foreign land.

Such a thing as an entire continent uniting under one government seemed as difficult to the people of those days as a world union seems today. Europe knew of no examples of it. All earlier large empires had been won by conquest from a central city. A permanent "league" of such large extent, or among people of such different occupations, was unknown. It appeared impossible.

4. EUROPE THOUGHT OUR CASE HOPELESS

Our European critics were sure that our States would soon break apart, warring one against another and inviting the European powers to aid in the destruction. They were sure that our national debt would never be paid, and that our debtors would rise against us. They were sure that our untaught people would prove utterly incapable of governing themselves, and that hungry mobs would plunge from one reckless folly to another until all our land perished in anarchy and starvation.

We came nearer to each one of these disasters than modern generations are ever likely to realize. That we finally triumphed over every difficulty and temptation, is the chief glory of our race. The lesson we offered to the world was of *the necessity of self-restraint, of cooperation, of doing justice to the views of others instead of insisting always on one's own purpose or desire.*

The Revolution had shown our people's courage and endurance. The creation of our Union was now to show their intelligence, their power to place tolerance and justice above all passion and selfishness.

5. A "CONFEDERATION" WAS FORMED, BUT WAS TOO WEAK

Of the feebleness of our central government we have already told. The members of the First and the Second Continental Congress had met merely as the ambassadors of their separate nations. They had no power to bind their States to anything. For six years they tried in vain to get the States to grant them any lasting authority.

Only in 1781 was a plan of union at length adopted. This first official union was called the "Articles of Confederation." Under this agreement a new Congress, the third Continental Congress, was elected, and our States existed as a "Confederation" until 1789.

This new Congress had, however, no more real power than the earlier ones. The States, each jealous of its own hard won authority, again refused in this Confederation, as they had refused before, to bind themselves to obey the Congress. Each State could approve a law of the Confederation or reject it, as each saw fit. Often they refused obedience. Hence Congress had no secure authority; it could not even make good its promises.

6. CONGRESS MADE WORTHLESS PROMISES TO BRITAIN

This showed immediately in our peace treaty. Britain wanted to protect her American "loyalists" and her own business men. Her peace commissioners urged that Congress should agree to make good the property losses of the loyalists who had been driven from our shores, and also the business losses which British merchants had suffered here.

These merchants still held large claims for debts against our buyers, though the debtors had often perished or been ruined by the war. Our people, knowing how much American property had been wantonly destroyed by the British, were determined not to pay for the losses of our foes.

After much debate, our peace commissioners agreed to put a clause in the treaty saying that Congress would recommend to the States some compensation for British losses. The British Commissioners knew that this was a worthless clause, that no State would listen for a moment to such a recommendation. But the British people did not know this; and when the States flatly refused any such payment whatever, the Britons felt that we had cheated them.

Both sides learned that the promises of a powerless government are as worthless as those of a dishonest one. You cannot make a secure treaty with either one. Weakness is always stumbling pitifully into falsehood. Indeed, *there is no government at all, in any true sense, unless the central authority has both power and honesty.*

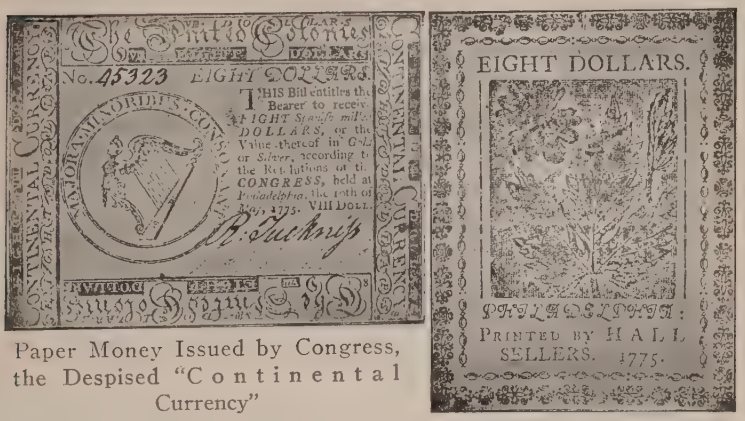
7. CONGRESS WAS PLUNGED INTO HOPELESS DEBT

This same disastrous weakness showed in our money affairs. To carry on the war, Congress had contracted enormous debts. It had obtained money partly by issuing its own "continental" money, paper "notes" promising payment in the future. In these, as we have seen, the people had so lost faith that a "continental" dollar note was finally accepted in trade as worth just about one cent, a hundredth part of its face value.

Congress had also obtained money by loans from the French government and other foreign sources. When Congress now called on the States to assume these enormous debts, they refused. They had heavy debts of their own.

Thus our central government was bankrupt and dishonored.

With the "continental" money this was not so serious. People had long since given up the expectation of its being redeemed. That was why its value had so disappeared. The "notes" had passed from hand to hand at constantly lessening value, so their loss had already been distributed, though unequally, over the entire people. Each receiver of a note had lost a little in its spending. That loss was, in effect, a tax which each person paid to win our freedom.



Paper Money Issued by Congress, the Despised "Continental Currency"

8. THE HOME DEBT WAS REPUDIATED; THE FOREIGN REMAINED

Congress finally "redeemed" these notes by paying out to the holders one fortieth of the face value. Another broken promise, of course, since the notes promised payment in full! Yet this fortieth was usually more than the notes had cost their last owners.

Some people who had gathered large quantities of the notes refused to give them up unless paid their full face value. So Congress flatly declared that such notes would

not be redeemed at all. This was called "repudiation." It was a bad but necessary way out of the impossible situation into which the penniless Congress had been driven.

Our debts to foreign sources could not be thus wiped out. For those we had received full value in money. To refuse its return would be cheating, lying, theft. If we did not pay, we could expect neither help nor confidence ever again. Yet how could Congress pay! This problem of our foreign debt continued an ever increasing anxiety through all the period of the Confederation. It was passed on to the stronger government of our later Union, which saved us from its shame.

9. THE CONTINENTAL ARMY SUFFERED HEAVY WRONGS

The difficulty between Congress and our army was yet more serious. Our soldiers, the men who had saved us, were the very folk who had suffered most from the poverty of Congress. Their supplies had been wretched; and, except for the worthless "continental" money, the men were rarely paid at all. The end of the war found them ragged, penniless, and far from home.

Could these men be turned out, to journey afoot across all the States to homes which they must often find plundered and destroyed! Were they to be abandoned, helpless, to beg in crowds for the poorest kinds of employment in districts where they were unknown! Many of the soldiers resolved not to submit to such a dismissal. They appealed to Washington, their trusted friend as well as leader, to secure them their just dues.

Some of the soldiers even planned on setting up a government strong enough to do them justice. They declared that America would only be safe as a monarchy, with Washington as its king.

10. THE SOLDIERS REMAINED NOBLY LOYAL TO OUR CAUSE

With sternest reproof Washington forbade his friends even to think of restoring the old British system of inequality, wherein one man was permanently set above another. He not only refused to strive for a throne, he refused to disobey Congress in any way whatever. Instead, he summoned his soldiers together and made so noble an appeal to them that they pledged themselves to perform one last great service to the cause of freedom. They would continue in obedience to this helpless Congress.

Washington made an earnest effort to gather money for the troops from Congress or from any source, but he failed. So with a final splendid heroism of endurance, the Continentals disbanded quietly. Some back pay and other compensation was afterward secured for them; but meanwhile they surrendered their united military power, which might have forced consideration. They scattered, as their great leader wrote in bitter indignation for their wrongs, "without a farthing in their pockets."

Is it any wonder that Washington was disgusted with the weakness of this sort of Democracy, which could not perform its most obvious duties. Thereafter, he devoted his life to securing some more manly and more honest organization for our government.

The end of the old military organization came when Washington journeyed to Annapolis, where Congress was in session. There, after years of power, he quietly resigned his commission. He gave back his authority to the body which had appointed him. Once again it was the self-sacrifice of our soldiers that saved the nation, despite the political unwisdom of our people as a whole. The latter still clung to their impossible dream of complete self-rule in

each locality. They refused to give up any power to the central government.

II. IGNORANT PEOPLE THOUGHT FREEDOM MEANT NO TAXATION

We had been saved from a military empire, such as generals in other lands had been driven to set up. Our next great danger rose from the disunion and lawlessness among our people themselves. Ignorance is always unable to see broadly. Many of our folk supposed that having for the moment beaten off the British, they were free from all danger forevermore. They foolishly thought they would never need any government to protect them against other foreign nations, or against the Indians, or against robbers and other evil men among themselves.

Men hoped to live in a "fool's paradise," and pay no more taxes whatever. Yet taxes in all the States were heavier than before, because of the debts the States had assumed, and because of all the repairs made necessary by the war's destruction. Hence some sections talked crazily of revolt against their own State governments; some took up arms against the tax collectors.

Even in Massachusetts, where education had been long encouraged and the average intelligence was high, there was an open revolt, called, from one of its leaders, Shays' Rebellion (1786). The revolters declared that taxes were unequally collected, hence they refused to pay and drove off their officials.

Not until the State sent thousands of armed soldiers to the spot did the rioters submit. Moreover, so many people sympathized with the revolt that the officials who suppressed it were driven from office at the next election.

Washington's Farewell to His Officers

Washington left his aides and comrades of the Revolution in New York, and withdrew quietly to his home at Mount Vernon.

12. THE "RIGHT OF REVOLT" COMES ONLY FROM HOPELESS NEED

So here were American soldiers using force, even as the British had done. It is imperative for every young American to understand the difference. Government of some sort, a strong government, is a necessity of all civilized life. On it depend liberty and property, comfort and hope, aspiration and even intelligence. We must unite to protect ourselves against force from without and injustice within.

Our Declaration of Independence expressly stated that armed revolt is only justified when an entire people is held helpless under tyranny. If each discontented person may revolt at will, then there is no government at all. Our government is the best our fathers could invent. We can alter its laws, and at elections we choose and change our leaders to enforce these laws. The machinery of change takes some time to move; but if a majority of us persist in desiring a change, it is sure to be established in the end.

We must recognize that a minority, even a minority of one, retains always the "right of revolt"; but this right should only be asserted when the minority's most sacred ideals are recklessly invaded. Moreover this right is paralleled by the majority's "right of punishment" if the revolt brings them serious injury.

False leaders will make speeches attacking everything, promising anything, in the hope of winning popular support. Sometimes, as happened after the Shays' Rebellion, such leaders have won election to office by promising the most extravagant absurdities. Yet, when elected, these new officials must collect money somehow to run their government; so their glowing promises are always broken. In those early days, unfortunately, such false promises kept alive the ignorant hope for a taxless land.

13. OUR FRONTIER PEOPLE WANTED WAR WITH SPAIN

In ignorance of these basic principles of human society, our pioneers beyond the Appalachian mountains almost started a war of their own. Spain held the mouth of the Mississippi and, according to the custom of those days, would let no other people cross or trade upon her territory. Our pioneers found that the trade of our central valleys could be most easily handled, not by toiling over the many mountains they had crossed to reach their new homes; but by boats to New Orleans and the sea.

A Mississippi outlet was thus vital to the prosperity of the West; and its people cared nothing for the rights of Spain. They saw only a few Spaniards in Louisiana, and they wanted to apply the rule of force, against which we ourselves had rebelled. When Congress would not support them in an attack, they talked angrily of setting up a separate government of their own. Some even considered becoming a colony of Spain.

Congress tried to secure the ocean outlet by treaty with Spain; but found this impossible. Spain was angry because the treaties of 1783 had given this region to us; and she secretly encouraged the southern Indians to attack our settlements. She hoped to increase the distrust which the pioneers felt for our feeble government, and so lure them to unite with Louisiana. Only as years made this treachery known, did such a union become impossible.

14. THERE WAS DIVISION WITHIN THE STATES THEMSELVES

Even within the established thirteen States there were plans for separation from the others, or of division among themselves. In the western part of North Carolina the frontiersmen set up a separate government. They called this the State of Franklin, after our philosopher, or some-

times Frankland, meaning the free land. John Sevier of King's Mountain fame was elected governor; and the State existed for over two years. Some of its people resisted by force before again accepting the authority of the eastern regions.

In Vermont a similar movement met success. We have seen how the "Green Mountain Boys" there, under Ethan Allen, had resisted New York's claim upon their lands. During the war they fought against British invasion; but they also negotiated openly with Britain for a separate peace, which should make of them a province free from New York.

After the war was over, the Vermont folk claimed much of the northern wilderness of New York and New Hampshire, as well as their own region. They even gathered troops to fight for these territories. New York did the same; and two angry little armies faced each other along the present boundary line.

Only the personal interference of Washington prevented a State war. He persuaded the Vermonters to reduce their claims, and persuaded the New Yorkers not to attack them in their established homes. Congress would gladly have admitted Vermont to the "Confederation" as a fourteenth State; but New York defied Congress to side against her in a State dispute, and thus take away her territory.

15. THE MISSISSIPPI REGION CAUSED SERIOUS DISAGREEMENT

Other State wars also threatened; and Congress was powerless to prevent them. One main source of quarrel was the very one which had caused the old strife between France and Britain. Our own States now, in their turn, disputed the ownership of the vast unoccupied regions between the Appalachian mountains and the Mississippi.

WASHINGTON AT YORKTOWN

Courtesy of Continental Ins. Co.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END AT YORKTOWN

Washington in person fired the first gun in the final attack upon Yorktown which resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis. By weeks of bold and skilful planning our great General had maneuvered to gather all our troops and those of France in one firm body around Yorktown; while Cornwallis and his army were locked helplessly within the town. Earth redouts were raised and the preparations hurried forward for a bombardment to be followed by a hand to hand assault. For Washington this was the final deciding moment of the war. Success or failure was at hand.

He discharged the gun; the bombardment began. When its destruction had made assault possible, two columns, one of French soldiers, one of Americans, charged the British outer works. Both columns succeeded; and the Britons, now crowded hopelessly together in the inner town, surrendered. Washington had won his final victory.

At the peace treaty, as we have seen, Britain had generously given over to us this huge territory which she might well have held. Some of the States had but small rights in this distant region. Yet when Britain surrendered it to the "united" States, the sharp question rose, who owned it? Did it belong to all the States in common?

Dispute on this point had arisen even earlier. The four most southern States each claimed the land directly west of it. North of the Ohio, in what came to be called the Northwest Territory, there were many opposing rights. Virginia, as having the original grant to all America, claimed this whole northwest. Moreover she held possession of it through the conquests of Clark, who still governed there.

The States that had no Western lands feared to be overwhelmed by the growth of those that had. Maryland had refused even to enter the Confederation until this danger was partly checked. Massachusetts had an original grant of all the land directly west of her coast, so she claimed a strip reaching through western New York and out to the Mississippi. Connecticut in similar fashion extended a claim across western Pennsylvania. Both New York and Pennsylvania had also some shows of right to parts of the great West.

16. THE "NORTHWEST" TERRITORY DREW US TOWARD UNION

Of all the many services which the much harassed Congress of the Confederation did for its quarreling States, perhaps the greatest was its final wise settlement of this Northwest Territory dispute (1787). Chiefly under the insistence of Maryland, Congress finally persuaded each of the States to surrender its western rights.

The whole region was accepted, as Britain had given it, as the property of the "united" States. Congress also an-

nounced, on the original suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, that slavery was forever forbidden in this first common territory of the nation. The citizens of all States were to be equally free to settle there; and when enough of them had done so in any one region, they were to be allowed to enter the Confederation as a new and equal State, not as dependents on the older States.

This was the first occasion on which governments voluntarily surrendered their right of dominion over lands and people. It was second in importance only to the Declaration of Independence, as a great step leading to human freedom and equality. It was also a step toward union, since the surrendered land came under the control of the central government. Here was something of real value which belonged to the States as partners. This was the first large power voluntarily given by the States to that central government which now binds us all in one.

17. THE GREAT WESTERN MIGRATION BEGAN TO FILL OHIO

By the year 1786 the bitter poverty in which the war had left us had begun to lift. Our energetic people everywhere had worked their way back to prosperity or at least to contentment. Many thousands of them, especially from New England, were pushing west into the fertile new lands. Thither also went many of the disbanded Continental soldiers. Congress found a fortunate means of repaying these, at least in part, by giving them large tracts of this empty land.

The rich valleys of western New York, where the Iroquois empire had stood, were first filled up. Then the flow poured onward into what is now Ohio. Manasseh Cutler was the man who, as head of a vast soldiers' organization, directed the Ohio flow.

Congress, partly at Cutler's suggestion, set aside, in each new region, lands for the support of schools, extending from the child's earliest school to the college. Congress thus began supporting education, and Cutler is often called "the father of State universities."

Rioters in Shays' Rebellion

18. KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE WERE PEOPLED FROM THE SOUTH

South of the Ohio the wonderful "blue grass" lands of Kentucky were quickly filled. Kentucky is an Indian name meaning "the land of tomorrow," a name of hope. The region had been known to the Indians themselves as "the dark and bloody ground," because it had been a border land of constant savage warfare between the northern and southern Indians. Neither side had dared build their villages in the beautiful but dangerous land.

Settlement in this rich and fertile region began, as we have already noted, even before the war. Daniel Boone marked out the famed old "Wilderness Road" to his fort at Booneville, and from there onward to an old French-British trading fort at Louisville. Now settlers flocked by hundreds into Kentucky both from Virginia and from the North.

Settlers also pushed westward from Virginia and Carolina into the mountain valleys, where the short-lived State of Franklin had been formed. James Robinson, who had been the pioneer of the Franklin settlements (1772), led a band of his frontier neighbors further west to the valley of the Cumberland river, and there founded Nashville (1779). These pioneers called the region Tennessee, an Indian name referring probably to the curving spoon shape of the river valley. By 1786, there were perhaps a hundred thousand white folk west of the Appalachians. A great new movement, a new influence in molding our nation, had begun.

19. THE NEW FRONTIER MADE A STRONGER AMERICANISM

This peopling of the frontier was a very different matter from the first settling of the older colonies. Not for many centuries had any people except savages possessed an open land with free space thus to occupy at will. The first settlers had come to America as European exiles, subject to some European government or company, and only secretly hopeful of a partial freedom.

In contrast to this, the pioneers of the new frontier journeyed onward free as air, owners of America in their own right. They went as families, the women and children with the men, and after family consultation as to whether they would really be better off in the west than in the coast lands. They rejoiced in the open life and the open spaces before

them. Liberty ceased to be a treasure desperately fought for and often lost. It became the birthright of our race, a possession so secure that we of our day too often forget its wondrous value.

These years saw the start of that vigorous, free, joyous Americanism which makes us another race from the long suffering Europeans. It was born among the throngs who crowded westward to take possession of this new "promised land." They had no ancient ties to Britain which they were loath to break. They believed in America, not as a dangerous experiment, but as an assured success.

The folk who stayed upon the coast loved each his separate town and State; but these folk who went west LOVED AMERICA AS A WHOLE. They were a mighty force for the closer Union which was to come.

20. WASHINGTON PLEADED FOR A STRONGER GOVERNMENT

That Union was now to be begun. In 1786 a general convention was called at Annapolis in Maryland. Part of its purpose was to see if the feeble Confederation could be strengthened. The disgrace of the broken promises of Congress, the madness of State wars, the constant threat of European ravage or oppression, these were becoming better understood each year. The folly of our helpless position struck men's hearts to shame.

Yet the 1786 convention was a complete failure. No State would grant its delegates sufficient power; some States did not even send delegates to attend. Then Alexander Hamilton led this 1786 convention in advising the country to call another and more potent gathering. Washington urged the plan; and Congress itself issued a recommendation—it could do no more—for a convention to revise the Confederation.

At this call, every State except Rhode Island sent delegates. Each tried to pick its ablest men, so as to defend its own interests while aiding the desired union. These men met at Philadelphia in May, 1787 in the great Constitutional Convention.

21. THE CONVENTION OF 1787 PREPARED OUR CONSTITUTION

This Constitutional Convention is generally regarded as the ablest body of Americans ever gathered together. It consisted of fifty-five men, the trusted champions of each State. Neither Samuel Adams nor Patrick Henry attended, because both were so fearful of tyranny from a strong government that they opposed the Convention entirely. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were abroad, representing us as ministers to England and France. All the other chief leaders of the Revolution attended. They were men, who, like Washington, had been tried by fire and were the proven friends of the people.

The Convention created for our land the CONSTITUTION under which we have prospered for nearly a century and a half. That Constitution turned the quarreling States into a nation, and thus opened to them our wonderful road to peaceful power. The great English statesman Gladstone said of this Constitution that it was "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Many written constitutions have since been prepared by various nations; but they all had this one to copy or to alter. Our founders had no similar document to guide them. They drew their ideas from the Declaration of Independence, from colonial charters, from the practical experience of each colony in self-government, and from their own broad knowledge of mankind.

The Constitution established the basic, unchanging principles of our American philosophy of government. It fitted the moment and the need, as no other government could have done. Yet in matters of detail it contained such wise provisions for its own change that we have ever since been able to alter it to fit new conditions and new generations of men.

22. MANY FOLK STILL VALUED LOCAL FREEDOM ABOVE UNION

The men who chiefly created this Constitution were five, Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia. Randolph introduced and urged what was called "the Virginia plan," from which the Constitution was built up; but his plan was so altered in discussion that he refused to approve its final form in the Constitution. Not only these five but every other delegate took his part in the great labor of construction. Historians have named as many as twenty who accomplished work of special value.

Washington presided over the convention, held it together, and alone made its work possible in the face of the jealousies and antagonisms of the States. Twice the convention nearly separated in despair of ever being able to agree. Washington led the members to meet again and continue their effort.

Next to him as a harmonizer was Franklin, the "old" man of the convention, who was eighty-one. Like Washington, he took a minor part in the debates; but he was the chief moderator, rescuing other men from prejudice, and leading all to the broadest views. He was also the strong anchor of all those who had grown gray in the long early struggle against British tyranny. These men dreaded a central power as a bar to freedom, a possible fortress of

new tyrants to replace the old. The chief champions of freedom even at the cost of weakness were perhaps George Mason of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts.

The most active leaders among those who wanted to keep the States stronger than the central power were William Paterson of New Jersey and Roger Sherman of Connecticut, the "shoemaker statesman," a splendid type of his State's sturdy Puritanism. These two were also voices of disunion in the convention, but were far less extreme than the great mass of opposition which was bound to come from each State after the convention was over. Outsiders were sure to see more narrowly, less generously, than the men of the convention.

23. THE CONVENTION AGREED ONLY AFTER MUCH DEBATE

At the other extreme from those who opposed a strong central government, stood Alexander Hamilton of New York, the "young" man of the convention, thirty years old. He advocated the strongest sort of government. Having been Washington's aide in the Revolution, Hamilton spoke partly as voicing the views of his former chief, partly as the voice of those heroic Continentals who had so suffered from the disastrous weakness of Congress.

Chiefly, however, Hamilton spoke for himself, for his own glorious vision of the mighty nation that was to be. No other man seems to have seen so clearly as he the wondrous growth and power that waited on our union. Yet no other was so doubtful of the ability of the mass of people to govern themselves.

The constructive workers in the convention, as contrasted to the champions of either an impossible degree of freedom or an impossible surrender of it, were led by James Madison of Virginia. He gave to his associates so many ideas,

Washington and His Mother

From the painting by L. E. Fournier, portraying our hero as he escorted his mother around their plantation

analyzed each suggestion so clearly, and argued the necessities of each case so convincingly, that he is called the Father of the Constitution.

Other constructive helpers were the great representative lawyers, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, Luther Martin of Maryland, John Dickinson of Delaware and Rufus King of Massachusetts, also the two Pinckneys of South Carolina, and Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania to whom was entrusted the final drafting and wording of the mighty document. Each State has its own great men to remember with pride for their work in this great gathering.

24. A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS CREATED

Thus the Constitution was born from a long and earnest weighing of opposing views. Each side yielded much. When the debate began, even the form to be given the central government was uncertain. Should it be as before, an unwieldy Congress settling each step by long debate? Or should one man be placed at the head, as an "executive" to conduct the business of government in a practical manner? And what degree of power should this government have? Some power the States must yield; but just how much and what?

Final agreement centered on the form under which we live today. A "President" was to enforce the laws and was to be elected indirectly by the entire people. A "Congress," with powers outlined in the Constitution, was to make the laws for this President to enforce. Moreover, the laws of the Congress were to be binding upon everyone. No State could pass laws contradicting them; no State could refuse them obedience. That was the main point of the change. The Congress was to command the States.

A third department of government was also created, the Judiciary. This centered in our Supreme Court, which has often been declared *the one great new idea added, by the Constitution, to human government.* This Judiciary, while powerless in itself, was placed as a judicial power above the States, the Congress and even the President. The Law was thus made superior to human passions. We were secured from the danger of tyranny, that is unlawful rule, even against our own State and National governments. They cannot disobey the Constitution. If our Supreme Court declares any one of their laws "unconstitutional," that law disappears.

25. THE STATES YIELDED LARGE POWERS TO THE NATION

The powers thus given to the central government were carefully outlined and cautiously limited. Chiefly it was to direct national affairs, that is, all discussions with other nations or between the States. Yet, that it might conduct these affairs vigorously, it could lay taxes on the nation as a whole.

This of course was an enormous amount of power to be voluntarily surrendered by the States. It definitely made them subordinates. Hereafter if their Congress said "pay" they must all pay. If it said "fight" they must all fight. No one State could stand aside.

The wonder of this movement was that these independent States were wise and noble enough to yield their power thus. Each gave up much for the good of all. The shame and anarchy of misgovernment since 1775 had at least educated our little local townsmen to this splendid breadth of view.

26. OUR TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS WERE BUILT ON COMPROMISE

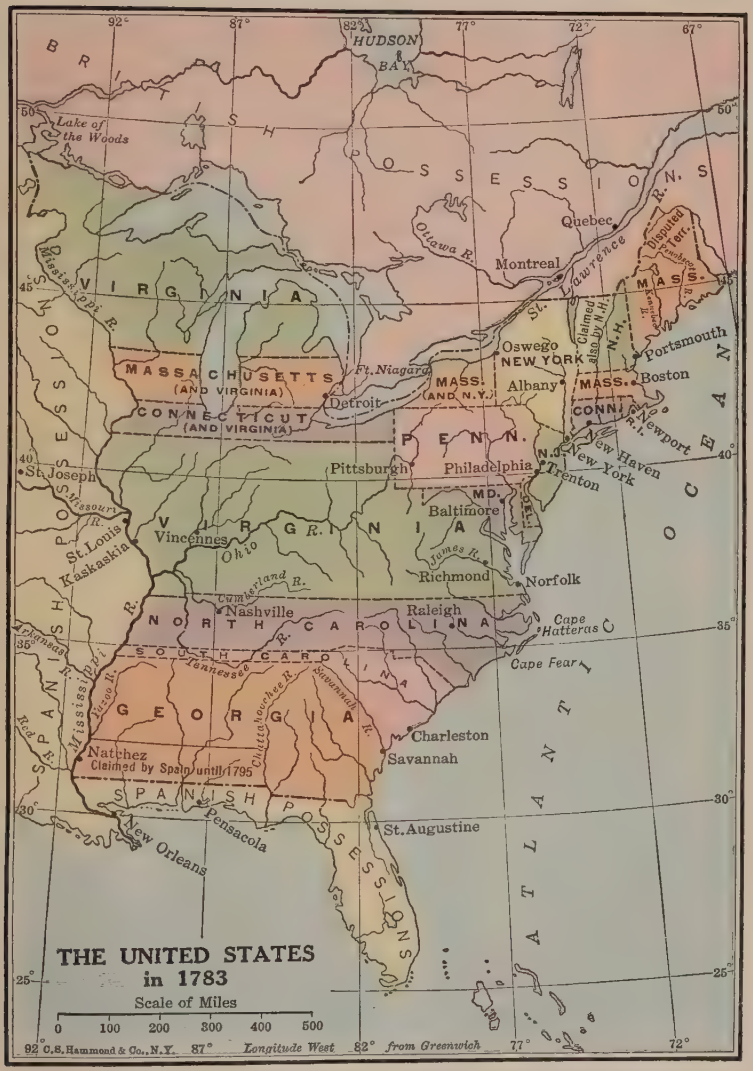
This vital issue being agreed upon, at least within the convention, the delegates found themselves facing points of far more obstinate debate. The most difficult of all was the problem of the large and small States. Should each State have an equal vote in the new Congress, as it had under the Confederation? Or should the votes of each State be measured by the number of its people?

The smaller States were very unwilling to give up the equality of power they had held in the old Congress. Yet that very equality had been its weakness. A big State like Virginia, with its three quarters of a million people, had naturally refused to obey decisions in which she was overruled by little States with less than a tenth part of her people or her power.

We all know the compromise that was adopted here. The Congress was divided into two Houses. In the Senate, each State was given equal representation; in the House of Representatives the number was measured by the population. In this debate no State could foresee its own future. New York, for instance, stood on this issue with the smaller States, so heavy had been her losses in the war. Hence, in our great Senate today, New York with over ten million people has no more votes than Nevada with less than a hundredth part as many citizens. Yet the inequality is one that New York herself demanded in defense of her equality.

27. LESSER DISAGREEMENTS WERE LEFT UNSETTLED

Other disagreements arose between different communities, between the conservative long settled regions and the new and hardy frontier, between the agricultural South and the commercial North.


THE UNITED STATES
in 1783
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
92° C.S. Hammond & Co., N.Y. 87° Longitude West 82° from Greenwich 77° 72°
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
HUDSON BAY
Lake of the Woods
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Disputed Terr.
Penobscot R.
Kennebec R.
MASS.
Claimed also by N.H.
N.H.
Portsmouth
Boston
Oswego
NEW YORK
Albany
MASS. (AND N.Y.)
Ft. Niagara
Detroit
MASSACHUSETTS (AND VIRGINIA)
CONNECTICUT (AND VIRGINIA)
VIRGINIA
Mississippi R.
PENN.
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
N.J.
Trenton
New York
New Haven
Newport
R.I.
CONN.
MD.
Baltimore
DEL.
Richmond
Norfolk
James R.
Ohio R.
Vincennes
St. Joseph
Missouri R.
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Cumberland R.
Nashville
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Cape Hatteras
Cape Fear
SOUTH CAROLINA
Tennessee R.
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
GEORGIA
Charleston
Savannah
Natchez
Claimed by Spain until 1795
Yazoo R.
Mississippi R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
Pensacola
New Orleans
St. Augustine
ATLANTIC OCEAN
92° 87° 82° 77° 72° 67°
50° 45° 40° 35° 30° 25°

Compromise was everywhere the rule. Some points were perforce left unsettled since agreement was impossible. That is why we still dispute about tariff duties, and why the great slavery struggle almost tore our land in two. Men everywhere thought that slavery was dying out of itself; hence they argued this matter less passionately than others. Roger Sherman said in the convention "The slave trade is iniquitous; but inasmuch as the point of [equal] representation is settled, I shall not object."

Thus was the danger of inequality and disunion permitted almost unobserved to hide itself within this otherwise far-seeing document of our country's birth.

28. THE NEW CONSTITUTION SEEMED DOOMED TO BE REJECTED

For four months the convention argued and planned. Then the Constitution was complete. Probably no one member was fully satisfied with it. Each accepted it only as the best practical form on which all could agree, or could hope to win their people's agreement. It offered a compromise infinitely better than the former helplessness or future disunion. Several members of the convention even refused to approve their completed work, and went home to fight against it in their States.

Its chances of universal adoption seemed indeed quite hopeless. Everywhere the people at first were astounded at its large demands upon them. They thought far more of what the union asked them to yield, than of the great advantage and protection that it promised. So fiercely did each State desire its own way, its own authority, that some of them refused even to consider this revolutionary document at all.

The Constitution itself declared that it should become the government if nine States adopted it. The rest could stay

outside its union if they would. Yet, in truth, if any State whose territory distinctly separated the others, such as New York or Virginia, stayed out, the union could scarcely work across this alien territory.

29. WASHINGTON AND "THE FEDERALIST" WERE ITS BEST AIDS

Three men now performed what was perhaps the greatest of their many services to our nation. Madison, Hamilton, and John Jay, able lawyers all and mighty thinkers, issued a series of articles discussing the Constitution from every standpoint. These collected articles are called the "Federalist," that being the name used for all who supported the new confederation or union.

The "Federalist" articles spoke with such truth, such noble patriotism, and such farsighted wisdom, as brought all our people to a broader view. The Federalist still stands today as one of the world's greatest works of literature. It was a giant step forward in man's understanding of the science of government.

Now also, was shown again the tremendous value to us all of having such a leader as Washington. The main public fear of the Constitution was of this new, tremendous official, the President. With his command of army and navy, he would be greater than a king. For it is true today and has always been so, that our President holds far more power over his people than the King of Britain does over his. Hence the people feared that a President might fasten himself in power as a tyrant much worse than George III.

But when this doubt was voiced in those first anxious days, the confident response was always, "We will make Washington our President. Can you have any fear of HIM?"

30. STATE AFTER STATE ACCEPTED THE CONSTITUTION

Gradually public sentiment everywhere turned more in favor of this great document, which was to make us all one people. In time each State decided to summon an assemblage and so at least formally consider its acceptance.

Little Delaware was the first State to promise to come

Monument Raised in 1894 at Fredericksburg over the Grave of Mary, the Mother of George Washington

Washington's "Book Plate" Showing the Family Coat of Arms

under "the new roof," as the Constitution was called in the widespread, earnest debate. Pennsylvania followed. These were the two States which had always been most earnest for the peace and harmony which the Constitution promised.

When, at length, the required nine States had joined, Virginia and New York, the two States most necessary of all, were still undecided. It needed all the influence of

Washington and Madison to persuade the Virginians to stoop from being the most powerful American State to being only an equal among many. She was the tenth State to join.

New York had at first refused even to consider the Constitution; and when at length a New York convention was called, a large majority of its members were definitely instructed by their people to oppose the "new roof." Almost single handed, Alexander Hamilton argued that convention into voting to join the union. Honest logic and passionate enthusiasm have never won a greater triumph.

31. THE CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED AND SET UP IN 1789

With eleven States thus entering the union, the old Congress declared the Constitution was adopted. It set the first Wednesday of March, 1789, as the date on which the new government was to begin. It named New York as the temporary capital or gathering place of the new officials; and it summoned the country to elect our first President and our first Congress under the Union.

The two States which had not even yet entered were North Carolina and Rhode Island. They had always been the colonies most inclined to separation and to going their own way, alone. So neither of them took part in that first election. But as the brilliant success of the union became quickly manifest, North Carolina joined it late in 1789, and Rhode Island in 1790. The complete union of the whole thirteen colonies, which had once seemed so impossible, was won at last.

32. THAT CONSTITUTION IS THE CHIEF TREASURE OF AMERICA

The Constitution thus became the supreme law of our land. Today we all gladly yield obedience to it; for the

very least can feel its protecting care, and the greatest can not evade its controlling power. It came into existence because an entire people had at last grown wise enough to recognize that government must curb human recklessness as it should be curbed, yet satisfy human aspiration as it should be satisfied.

No government can be lasting or successful unless it is founded upon, and inseparably bound to, the unbreakable principles of civil and religious liberty. This truth therefore was set as the very center of the new national law. This truth became a guarantee of the power and also of the permanency of our government.

Under the Constitution we are the inheritors and possessors of true liberty—not undefined, illimitable, insolent liberty, which is really selfish license—but liberty under law, liberty with justice. This higher liberty makes the well-being of the nation as a whole the true test of the limits of individual freedom. This is a necessary step in the fulfillment of God's great purposes. We are resolved, at any cost, to maintain this liberty for ourselves and to transmit it to our children.

33. A "BILL OF RIGHTS" WAS ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION

In the State conventions which had discussed the Constitution, almost every speaker had begun by suggesting changes, "amendments." Each State would consider joining if this or that was altered to its particular wishes. But if one State could demand changes, all could; and each State would wish a different change.

It was clear that such a course would destroy the Constitution altogether. Another national gathering would have to undertake anew the hopeless labor of remodeling

the document to suit everybody at once. Its very value was that it suited no one State. Each had to surrender something to the others. By degrees each convention had realized this, and had accepted the Constitution just as it stood. However, as the general discussion showed that certain amendments were everywhere desired, the leaders who favored the Constitution promised that the new government would itself prepare a series of amendments.

These amendments were practically agreed on before the new government began; and ten of them were promptly adopted. They form the first ten amendments to our Constitution. From their nature they are commonly called our "Bill of Rights." You should study them to know just what rights are thus guaranteed to you, and what our government is forever forbidden to do.

34. OUR BILL OF RIGHTS ASSERTS THE "NATURAL RIGHTS OF MAN"

This Bill of Rights was almost the same as one already drawn up by George Mason, the Virginia advocate of freedom, and embodied in the first constitution of his State. The details were partly borrowed from similar English documents; and the famous French philosopher Rousseau had popularized these ideals as being the "natural rights of man."

Its provisions were all intended to protect both the States and the people from any possible governmental tyranny in the future. Of course these rights are such as no free government would wish to take away. So that such a Bill of Rights had seemed to the framers of the Constitution unnecessary. Yet, this stating of the rights within the document itself seemed the strongest guard against the danger so many folk had feared.

By these ten amendments we are all secured in the sanctity of our homes, free from those writs of search which had aroused James Otis to resistance. We are assured of freedom of speech and of the press, such as the trial of Peter Zenger had established. We are assured of trial by a home jury, whereas the colonists had been sometimes dragged to England or condemned by the king's judges. We are protected in the peaceful exercise of religion, and in the possession of property as against unlawful seizure by any official.

35. WASHINGTON WAS UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED PRESIDENT

With everything thus agreed upon, the various States held their elections in 1788, and the newly chosen Senators and Representatives journeyed to New York. For some of them this meant travel for several weeks.

When at last they were gathered, they made a formal count of the votes of the "presidential electors" for the great new office of President of the Union. Everyone knew that Washington would be chosen; and when the ballots were counted every ballot carried his name. He was thus accorded an honor no other President has received, that of election to his high office by an absolutely unanimous vote.

The vote for Vice-President was much more disputed. It was generally felt that with a Virginian for President, a northern man should receive the second place, probably one from the largest northern State, Massachusetts. Finally the electors agreed upon John Adams. He had been one of the earliest champions of our freedom, a leader in the old Congress, and our representative in Britain who had conducted the peace arrangements there.

36. WASHINGTON TOOK CHARGE OF THE UNION

On April 30, 1789, Washington and Adams were placed in office. The ceremony was held at "Federal Hall" in New York, a new building erected on purpose for the new government. It stood where a National Treasury building now stands on Wall Street.

An eye-witness tells us that Washington trembled as he took the oath of office. As he finished the oath, he looked up to Heaven and added of his own will, "So help me God." The Britons with their threat of hanging had not made him tremble, but the high responsibility of this great new office did.

He made a brief speech to his listening people, but was nervous and could say little. Most of us love him all the more for that. We recall the hesitance with which he had accepted the command in 1775, and we realize how deeply he was weighing his new pledges, how solemnly he had made, how sacredly he meant to keep, his vow.

37. WE MUST LEARN TO HONOR AND SUPPORT SUCH LEADERS

That is the end of our present story, the story of how this nation was formed, of how the many little colonies became the one great "United States of America." May our people forever remember Washington, and those who aided him in this splendid triumph. It should be the prayer of every citizen that we may always find leaders as able as he, as high souled, and as devoted to us all.

It is no small proof of the shrewd intelligence of the Revolutionary patriots that they recognized Washington's value. They might easily have been drawn from his leadership by the boastful talk of Gates, the flattering hypocrisy of Charles Lee, or the dashing gallantry of Benedict Ar-

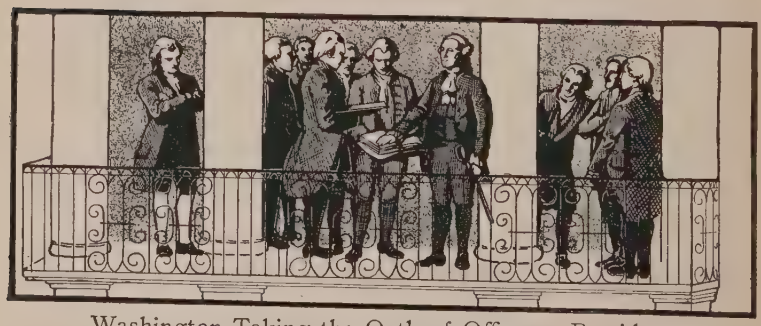
The Declaration of Independence

From the national painting in our Capitol at Washington, showing the five members of the committee with Jefferson at their head presenting the document to President Hancock for adoption by Congress

nold. The success of a democracy can only be proportioned to the intelligence and fair-mindedness of its people.

The duty now of each American must be to "carry on" from where the Revolutionary "fathers" began. We must learn not only to recognize great leaders when they arise, but to uphold them in their time of trial. We must support them even though they oppose us in some personal desire, as Washington opposed many a man. The prosperity of the nation will not often clash against any one's individual personal prosperity. But if ever it does so in your own case, put the nation first.

Justice to mankind is more important than justice to yourself. In the long run, the universal justice will prove the better for you also, for you and those you love. That is the lesson of Washington's life, and the lesson of our nation's early history.



Washington Taking the Oath of Office as President

APPENDIX

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are written, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland, king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid: and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, actes, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Cod ye 11. of November, in the year of ye rainge of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France & Ireland ye 18, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth. Ano. Dom. 1620.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dic-

tate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffrance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature,—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause

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Note: The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia at Carpenters' Hall, September 5, 1774. Forty-four delegates were present, representing eleven of the thirteen colonies. Eleven more delegates arrived later, and all of the colonies were represented except Georgia, which promised to support "her sister colonies." Peyton Randolph of Virginia was elected President of the Congress. Among its members were Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry, John Dickinson, William Livingston, John Jay, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, and the Rutledges of South Carolina. On October 14th, the Congress adopted the *Declaration of Colonial Rights*. On October 26th, the *Petition to the King* asked the redress of their wrongs.

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, at Independence Hall, May 10, 1775. A second *Petition to the King* was adopted, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental army. The King's Proclamation, declaring the Colonies in rebellion and calling for volunteers to force them to submit, convinced the Congress of the impossibility of continuing our allegiance

others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging

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to the English crown. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent states.*" John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion.

A committee of five, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York, was appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson drew up the paper, and a few alterations were made in it by the committee and by Congress. It was adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776, and signed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. On August 2, 1776, it was signed by the members, representing all the thirteen states.

The original copy of the Declaration began with the headline "In Congress, etc." as here given. Its spelling and punctuation have here been modernized, and it has been divided into paragraphs in accordance with what has become our standard modern form.

its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and

declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK

CHARLES THOMSON

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members:

NEW HAMPSHIRE
JOSIAH BARTLETT
WILLIAM WHIPPLE
MATTHEW THORNTON

MASSACHUSETTS BAY
JOHN HANCOCK
SAMUEL ADAMS
JOHN ADAMS
ROBERT TREAT PAINE
ELDRIDGE GERRY

RHODE ISLAND
STEPHEN HOPKINS
WILLIAM ELLERY

CONNECTICUT
ROGER SHERMAN
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON
WILLIAM WILLIAMS
OLIVER WOLCOTT

NEW YORK
WILLIAM FLOYD
PHILIP LIVINGSTON
FRANCIS LEWIS
LEWIS MORRIS

NEW JERSEY
RICHARD STOCKTON
JOHN WITHERSPOON
FRANCIS HOPKINSON
JOHN HART
ABRAHAM CLARK

PENNSYLVANIA
ROBERT MORRIS
BENJAMIN RUSH
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
JOHN MORTON
GEORGE CLYMER
JAMES SMITH
GEORGE TAYLOR
JAMES WILSON
GEORGE ROSS

DELAWARE
CÆSAR RODNEY
GEORGE READ
THOMAS M'KEAN

MARYLAND
SAMUEL CHASE
WILLIAM PACA
THOMAS STONE
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton

VIRGINIA
GEORGE WYTHE
RICHARD HENRY LEE
THOMAS JEFFERSON
BENJAMIN HARRISON
THOMAS NELSON, JR.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE
CARTER BRAXTON

NORTH CAROLINA
WILLIAM HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES
JOHN PENN

SOUTH CAROLINA
EDWARD RUTLEDGE
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

GEORGIA
BUTTON GWINNETT
LYMAN HALL
GEORGE WALTON

OUTLINE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Name	Representative of	Birthplace	Occupation	Birth and Death
Adams, John	Mass.	Braintree, Mass.	Lawyer	1735–1826
Adams, Samuel	Mass.	Boston, Mass.	Merchant	1722–1803
Bartlett, Josiah	N. H.	Amesbury, Mass.	Physician	1729–1795
Braxton, Carter	Va.	Newington, Va.	Planter	1736–1797
Carroll, Charles	Md.	Annapolis, Md.	Lawyer	1737–1832
Chase, Samuel	Md.	Somerset Co., Md.	Lawyer	1741–1811
Clark, Abraham	N. J.	Elizabethtown, N. J.	Lawyer	1726–1794
Clymer, George	Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Merchant	1739–1813
Ellery, William	R. I.	Newport, R. I.	Lawyer	1727–1820
Floyd, William	N. Y.	Setauket, N. Y.	Land owner	1734–1821
Franklin, Benjamin	Pa.	Boston, Mass.	Printer	1706–1790
Gerry, Elbridge	Mass.	Marblehead, Mass.	Merchant	1744–1814
Gwinnett, Button	Ga.	England	Merchant	1732–1777
Hancock, John	Mass.	Braintree, Mass.	Merchant	1737–1793
Hall, Lyman	Ga.	Connecticut	Physician	1731–1784
Harrison, Benjamin	Va.	Berkeley, Va.	Planter	1740–1791
Hart, John	N. J.	Hopewell, N. J.	Land owner	1715–1780
Hewes, Joseph	N. C.	Kingston, N. J.	Lawyer	1730–1779
Heyward, Thomas, Jr.	S. C.	St. Luke's, S. C.	Lawyer	1746–1809
Hooper, William	N. C.	Boston, Mass.	Lawyer	1742–1790
Hopkins, Stephen	R. I.	Scituate, Mass.	Land owner	1707–1785
Hopkinson, Francis	N. J.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Lawyer	1737–1791
Huntington, Samuel	Conn.	Windham, Conn.	Lawyer	1732–1796
Jefferson, Thomas	Va.	Shadwell, Va.	Lawyer	1743–1826
Lee, Richard Henry	Va.	Stratford, Va.	Soldier	1732–1794
Lee, Francis Lightfoot	Va.	Stratford, Va.	Planter	1734–1797
Lewis, Francis	N. Y.	Wales	Merchant	1713–1803
Livingston, Philip	N. Y.	Albany, N. Y.	Merchant	1716–1778
Lynch, Thomas, Jr.	S. C.	Prince George, S. C.	Lawyer	1749–1779
McKean, Thomas	Del.	New London, Pa.	Lawyer	1734–1817
Middleton, Arthur	S. C.	Middleton Pl., S. C.	Lawyer	1743–1788
Morris, Lewis	N. Y.	Morrisania, N. Y.	Land owner	1726–1798
Morris, Robert	Pa.	England	Merchant	1734–1806
Morton, John	Pa.	Ridley, Pa.	Surveyor	1724–1777
Nelson, Thomas, Jr.	Va.	York, Va.	Planter	1738–1789
Paca, William	Md.	Wye Hall, Md.	Lawyer	1740–1799
Paine, Robert Treat	Mass.	Boston, Mass.	Lawyer	1731–1814
Penn, John	N. C.	Caroline Co., Va.	Lawyer	1741–1788
Read, George	Del.	Cecil Co., Md.	Lawyer	1734–1798
Rodney, Caesar	Del.	Dover, Del.	Soldier	1730–1783
Ross, George	Pa.	New Castle, Del.	Lawyer	1730–1779
Rush, Benjamin	Pa.	Berberry, Pa.	Physician	1745–1813
Rutledge, Edward	S. C.	Charleston, S. C.	Lawyer	1740–1800
Sherman, Roger	Conn.	Newton, Mass.	Shoemaker	1721–1793
Smith, James	Pa.	Ireland	Lawyer	1710–1806
Stockton, Richard	N. J.	Princeton, N. J.	Lawyer	1730–1781
Stone, Thomas	Md.	Pointoin Manor, Md.	Lawyer	1742–1787
Taylor, George	Pa.	Ireland	Physician	1716–1781
Thornton, Matthew	N. H.	Ireland	Physician	1714–1803
Walton, George	Ga.	Frederick Co., Va.	Lawyer	1740–1804
Whipple, William	Conn.	Kittery, Me.	Sailor	1730–1785
Williams, William	Conn.	Lebanon, Conn.	Land owner	1731–1811
Wilson, James	Pa.	Scotland	Lawyer	1742–1798
Witherspoon, John	N. J.	Scotland	Minister	1722–1794
Wolcott, Oliver	Conn.	Windsor, Conn.	Physician	1726–1797
Wythe, George	Va.	Elizabeth Co., Va.	Lawyer	1726–1806

POPULATION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD AND AT THE FIRST UNITED STATES CENSUS

These figures of population for the colonies are from estimates prepared by the Census Bureau. The first U. S. census was taken in 1790.

	1650	1700	1750	1790
Virginia	17,000	72,000	275,000	747,610
Massachusetts	18,000	70,000	180,000	378,787
New Hampshire	1,400	6,000	31,000	141,885
New York	3,000	19,000	80,000	340,120
Delaware[1]	....	....	....	59,096
Connecticut	6,000	24,000	100,000	237,946
Maryland	4,500	31,000	137,000	319,728
Rhode Island	800	6,000	35,000	68,825
North Carolina	....	5,000	80,000	393,751
New Jersey	....	14,000	66,000	184,139
South Carolina	....	8,000	68,000	249,073
Pennsylvania	....	20,000	150,000	434,373
Georgia	....	....	5,000	82,548
Vermont	....	....	....	85,425
Kentucky	....	....	....	73,677
Tennessee	....	....	....	35,961
Maine[2]	....	....	....	96,540

[1]The population of Delaware was included with that of Pennsylvania during Colonial days.

[2]The population of Maine was included in Massachusetts but was taken as a separate "district" in 1790.

CHRONOLOGY

Chief North American Events up to 1789

1492 **(Oct. 12) Columbus landed in the Bahamas.**
1497 Amerigo Vespucci probably reached the mainland.
1497 John Cabot explored the northern coast.
1500 Columbus was deposed as governor.
1508 De Leon settled Porto Rico, and (1513) explored Florida.
1513 Balboa discovered the Pacific.
1522 **Magellan's ship first encircled the globe.**
1524 Verrazano explored the North American coast for France.
1528 De Narvaez and Cabeza began exploring the inland United States.
1534 Cartier attempted French settlement in Canada.
1535 First "college" in America founded in Mexico City.
1540 Coronado explored the West.
1541 De Soto discovered the Mississippi.
1542 Cabrillo explored the California coast.
1562 Ribaut attempted French settlement in Carolina.
1565 Menendez settled St. Augustine in Florida.
1578 **Gilbert and Raleigh started English colonization.**
1580 Drake returned from sailing around the globe.
1605 Santa Fé was settled in New Mexico.
1607 **Jamestown was planted in Virginia.**
1607 Pemaquid was founded in Maine.
1608 Champlain founded Quebec in Canada.
1609 Hudson explored the Hudson River for the Dutch.
1610 Jamestown was rescued by Lord Delaware.
1619 **Representative Government was started in Virginia.**
1620 The first English school in America at Jamestown.
1620 **The Pilgrims landed at Plymouth and began New England.**
1623 Dutch settlements planted in New York.
1628 **The Puritan settlement of Massachusetts began.**
1634 Catholic settlement of Maryland began.
1636 Harvard College founded.
1636 Roger Williams founded Rhode Island for religious freedom.
1638 Swedish settlement begun.
1639 **Connecticut framed our first written Constitution.**
1640 First book printed in America, the "Bay State" Psalm Book.
1642 Civil War in England.
"Compulsory education" started in Massachusetts.
1643 Two years of Indian war began in the Dutch colonies.

1649 Maryland passed the Religious Toleration Act.
1655 Battle of Severn River in Maryland.
1660 Stuart kings restored to power in England.
1663 Carolina founded by the "Eight Lords."
1664 England seized possession of New York.
1667 Quaker movement to America began.
1673 Marquette and Joliet explored the Mississippi for France.
1675 King Philip's War desolated New England.
1676 **Bacon's Rebellion arose in Virginia.**
1681 Penn prepared his asylum for the oppressed.
1682 La Salle claimed the whole Mississippi Valley for France.
1689 Overthrow of the Stuart kings brought rejoicing to America; Constant French and English war began.
1690 First plan of colonial union proposed at Albany.
1692 Salem witchcraft trials.
1693 William and Mary College founded in Virginia.
1704 First permanent newspaper started in Boston.
1711 Deadly Indian wars began in Carolina.
1718 The French founded New Orleans.
1733 Georgia founded, completing colonization of the coast.
1735 Liberty of the press established by Zenger's trial.
1740 Georgia and Carolina war with the Spaniards of Florida.
1740 "Great Awakening" of religion throughout the colonies.
1744 New England captured Louisburg from France.
1748 Virginia began the exploration of the Ohio valley.
1754 Washington was besieged by the French at Fort Necessity.
1754 Franklin's plan of Union proposed at Albany Congress.
1755 Braddock's defeat; Johnson's victory on Lake George.
1758 Pittsburg and Louisburg captured from France.
1759 Quebec captured from France.
1760 George III ascended the British throne.
1761 James Otis opposed the Writs for Assistance.
1763 **France surrendered Canada to Britain.**
1763 Pontiac's Indian outbreak swept the Northwest.
1765 Parliament passed the Stamp Act.
1770 The "Boston massacre."
1771 The North Carolina "Regulators" defeated at Alamance Creek.
1773 Outbursts caused by the tea tax.
1774 The "Intolerable Acts" attempted the punishment of America.
First "Continental Congress" met at Philadelphia.

1775 **Lexington started the Revolution** (April 19); Bunker Hill was fought; the invasion of Canada broke down.

1776 Boston was rescued; Charleston repelled the British fleet; **Declaration of Independence** (July 4); Howe's Armada drove Washington from New York; Washington won the decisive battle of Trenton.

1777 Howe captured Philadelphia; **Burgoyne's army was captured at Saratoga;** Washington wintered at Valley Forge.

1778 **France lent us aid** in money and in men; Britain was involved in world-wide war; Clark's expedition captured the Northwest; Paul Jones raided Britain's coast; Savannah was captured.

1779 Sullivan crushed the Iroquois; Paul Jones won his most famous sea-fight; the war shifted to the South.

1780 Charleston was captured; Gates was defeated at Camden; the frontiermen won at King's Mountain; Arnold's treason occurred.

1781 Greene fought his famous Carolina campaign; **Cornwallis was entrapped and captured;** Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation.

1782 Peace commissioners met; Britain began evacuating our coast.

1783 **Treaty of Paris established our freedom.**

1784 Washington disbanded the army and resigned his power; the great migration to the Northwest began.

1786 The Northwest Territory was made the common property of the nation.

1787 **Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia.**

1788 The States accepted the Constitution and held their first Presidential election.

1789 **Washington was inaugurated, and our United States began.**

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